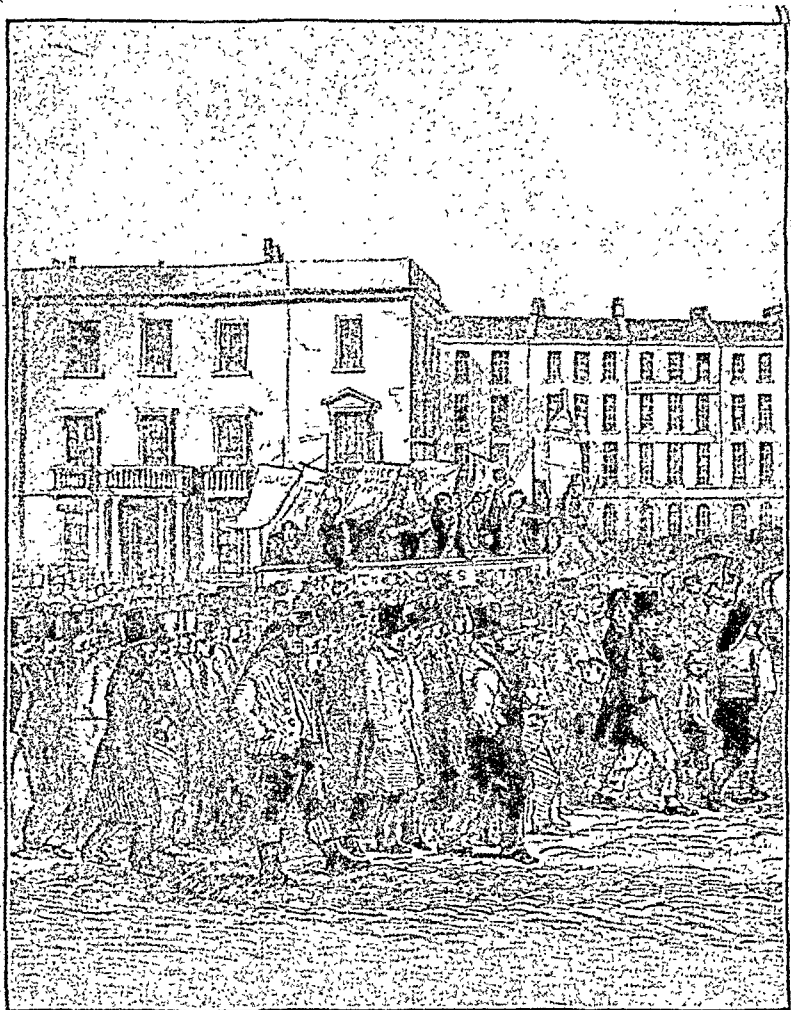


THE HEADWAY HISTORIES
SENIOR SERIES

General Editor:
E. W. TICKNER, D Lit., B Sc

BOOK THREE

DAYS OF DEMOCRACY



IN THE EARLY DAYS OF DEMOCRACY.

The Chartist Demonstration, 1848. The Chartists were a body of Englishmen who, in 1838, issued a Charter demanding parliamentary rights for the common people. In 1848 the Chartists formed a huge procession (part of which is shown in this picture, drawn at the time) on Kennington Common, intending to march to the House of Commons. But the procession was not allowed to cross Westminster Bridge, and after this the Chartist movement died out. Since that time the people have gained all the rights, worth having that the Chartists demanded.

7/11/31
152

DAYS OF DEMOCRACY

BRITAIN IN EUROPE

1789—Present Day

BY
C. F. STRONG, M.A., Ph.D.

S. 15-92-2

WITH 95 ILLUSTRATIONS AND
14 MAPS



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PREFACE

THIS is the third of a series of four books, covering a complete course in history for children between the ages of eleven and fifteen, and amplifying the work already accomplished in the Junior Headway Histories.

The object of the course is the study of the story of Britain and the Empire in close relationship with the history of Europe and the rest of the World. Book I deals with the Middle Ages, while Book II covers the period from 1485 to 1789. This division affords time and opportunity in Book III for that fuller treatment of the nineteenth century, which is so vital to the needs of present-day children. Book IV serves as a revision of the preceding work from 1485 onward, in the form of a story of the growth and development of the Empire of which the children are about to become citizens.

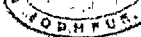
The books are plentifully supplied with time charts, pictures, and maps; for the use of illustration must always be a most important factor in history teaching. The maps have been specially prepared to cover the periods of history dealt with, as they are not to be found in the children's atlases, but, since they are intended as additional maps, all users of the books are urged to supplement them by the constant use of the atlas and particularly of its orographical maps.

A variety of exercises has been attached to each chapter, and in framing these exercises the authors, while not neglecting the requirements of the individual worker, have

PREFACE

paid special attention to suggestions for group work, believing, as they do, from long experience as teachers of history, that such group studies should play an important part in the history work of boys and girls from the age of eleven.

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INTRODUCTION

YOU are going to read in this book about the history of the last 150 years. It is one of the most wonderful periods in history, because more changes have taken place in this period of a century and a half than occurred in any time before it. It is also one of the most interesting, because it brings us right up to the story of the times in which we ourselves live. This period began with a great revolution and ended with a great war. The revolution was the French Revolution which broke out in 1789. This is very important because, as you will see, it affected not only France but all the other countries of Europe, and had the most important results everywhere in the years that followed. The great war was the war of 1914-18, in which all the most important countries of the world fought. It was the most terrible war in the history of the world. It has also had more tremendous results than any of the earlier wars, because it affected every nation in the world in all kinds of ways. Why do we call this period the Days of Democracy? The word "democracy" really means the rule of the people. In the earlier books you have read about times when government was in the hands of kings, of great landowners or of wealthy merchants. Now, when the French people in 1789 revolted against their rulers they claimed that the great mass of the people should hold as much power as those few who had held it alone before. This idea spread through France and beyond to all the countries of Europe and all parts of the civilised world. Each nation took up the cry and claimed

the same rights. The people everywhere had a hard fight to gain these rights, and the story of their struggle forms a large part of the history of the period we are to study. Gradually in many countries the people gained a share in the government and many other rights, such as healthy conditions of work and reasonable hours of labour, education for everyone and better housing conditions. This is one part of the story you will read of in this book. Another part is the wonderful change that has come about in the methods of travel and communication. This has brought the different countries of the world into closer touch with one another than they ever were before, and has led to the spread of European ideas and methods of government to the most distant parts of the world, such as Japan, China and India.

This period is rather difficult to divide into parts. We have divided the earlier periods by the reigns of kings and queens. This was the best way, because the coming of a new king or queen did make a change in history. But we cannot do this for our present period, first, because kings and queens become less important as the power of the people increases, and secondly, because in the history of our own country one reign, that of Queen Victoria, filled a period of sixty-four years, lasting from 1837 to 1901. So we shall divide our subject according to the various important changes and developments as they

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE STATES-GENERAL

WHEN the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Louis XVI was King. He was quite a kind and pleasant man, but he was not great enough to be the leader of a nation in the difficulties which the French people had to face at this time. For the French Revolution was different from the revolutions of which you have read in the history of our own land, such as the "Bloodless Revolution" of 1688 and the Industrial Revolution of the second half of the eighteenth century, and it was much more terrible. It started quietly enough, but it soon led to the most horrible bloodshed. It brought about changes in methods of government and conditions of life of the people. It led to a long war between France and most of the other important states of Europe. It ended by bringing about a different state of things in Europe from that which had existed before.

For this great revolution there were several causes. France had spent so much money in the wars of the eighteenth century, that she could not pay her way. So the King and his ministers tried to find new ways of raising taxes. Now this was not easy, because of the way the taxes had up till then been raised. Almost all of them fell on the lower classes. In France at that time there were four great classes of people—the clergy, the nobility, the middle class and the peasants. The Church owned about one-fifth of the soil of France, and the clergy lived



Louis XVI (1774-1793).

Count Mirabeau (1749-1791).

THE KING AND A GREAT PARLIAMENTARY LEADER IN THE
EARLY DAYS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

on the proceeds. The nobility had no power in the government and were not allowed to trade. So most of them lived at the Court of the King at Versailles, and drew their wealth from the land worked by the peasants. The middle class, mostly merchants, possessed great wealth, though they did not own much land. They were not allowed to go into the army or navy, and mostly became lawyers and judges. The peasants were very down-trodden, and it was reckoned that about four-fifths of a peasant's income was taken up in paying taxes.

There were several kinds of taxes. They were raised on land, income, goods and from the head of each family. The most hated was a tax on salt, used greatly by the poor for preserving food, called the "Gabelle." Another

burden on the peasants was the demand that they should give their labour for so many days a year for the repairing of bridges and roads. This was called the "corvée." These taxes were collected and these demands made by the "Intendants," who were the officers of the central government in the various local districts. It was their business to see that all these dues were collected and handed over to the Government to pay for the expenses of the country. But after all the enormous cost of the wars, these taxes did not produce enough.

You will see, then, that the people of France were divided into classes, of which two (the nobility and clergy) had most rights, a third (the middle class) had a few rights, and a fourth (the peasants) had none. The government was in the hands of the King, who was helped by various officials. But the people did not share in the government. Every new minister of the King who tried to get more money, in order to save France from bankruptcy, could only suggest that the nobles should pay a share of the taxation. The nobles would not pay, and so another method had to be tried. At last the King decided to call a parliament, made up of the representatives of the clergy, lords and commons. Such a parliament was called the States-General, because it was made up of the three estates just mentioned. You will remember that such a body had not met in France since 1614. When it met in 1789, therefore, nobody knew how such a meeting should be carried on.

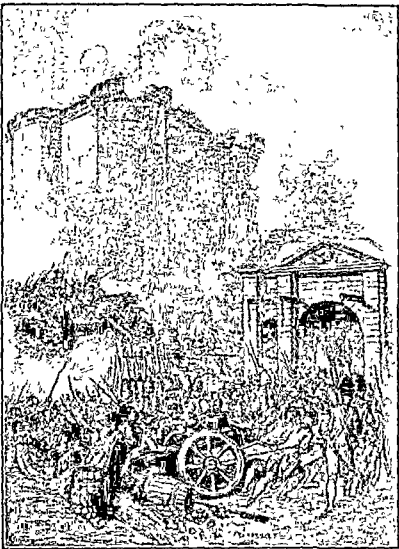
The three parts of the States-General met in separate rooms and voted as separate bodies. So, if the clergy and nobility voted in favour of a certain measure and the Third Estate or Commons against it, the Third Estate was defeated by two to one.

Now the Third Estate demanded that the three estates should all meet as one body, so that they could vote all together, instead of separately. As the Third Estate was equal in numbers (600) to the other two put together (300 each), this meant that the Third Estate would have some hope of getting its will done. The Third Estate also took an oath that they would not separate until they had invented a new method of government. Because they agreed to this as they were gathered together in a building used as a tennis-court near their meeting-place, this is known as the "Oath of the Tennis-court." This was the real beginning of the French Revolution. The clergy and nobility then joined the commons, and they all went slowly on with the work of making a new system of government.

"THE RIGHTS OF MAN"

While they were spending time doing this, the poor people of Paris took matters into their own hands. They could not wait for things to happen gradually and quietly, for they were short of food, and thought they could frighten the Government into doing something to better their condition. So the mob marched on to the state prison called the Bastille, and captured it. It only had seven prisoners in it, but the mob hated it as the sign of the tyranny under which they lived. Later in the year 1789 the women of Paris marched to Versailles and brought back the King and the Queen and their little son with them to Paris. They supposed that wherever the royal family was, there bread would be also, and they called the royal family "the baker, the baker's wife and the baker's boy." From this moment the States-General met in Paris.

You will see, then, that the Revolution had two sides. One was connected with a change in government and a



STORMING THE BASTILLE JULY 14 1789

The picture shows in the foreground the entrance to the outer court and the broken chains of the drawbridge, which was cut down. The Bastille itself is in the background. Notice that the civilians are being helped by soldiers, who had deserted from the guards in Paris.



WOMEN MARCHING TO VERSAILLES, OCTOBER 5, 1789.

They set out to bring the King and the Royal Family to Paris. Notice their dress and their weapons.

number of reforms carried out by the States-General. The other was connected with the poor and down-trodden part of the population in the towns and the country. The leaders of the Revolution were drawn mostly from the middle class. The poor formed the mass of those who were ready to carry out any changes brought about by bloodshed. In the year 1789 the States-General carried out a number of reforms. Their great leader at this time was a nobleman named Mirabeau. He hoped to form a new kind of government with the King controlled by Parliament, like the Monarchy in Britain. As the nobles saw that they could not now keep all their powers, they offered to surrender their feudal rights, and the States-General declared them all abolished. In this way the

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

peasants in France became free from that day, and although many new tyrannies were to come in France, the peasants never lost the freedom that they thus won.

Also the States-General issued the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which said that all men are free and equal in their rights and in the eyes of the law, and that all powers of government rest in the nation as a whole and not with any particular class. Following this, a new scheme of government was drawn up. But while this was being done Mirabeau died in 1791, and the King and Queen became frightened as to what might happen next, and fled from Paris. But when they had got about half-way to the eastern frontier of France, they were captured and brought back to Paris. The King then agreed to the new form of government, and an election took place to form another assembly, or parliament. But before it could do anything other events occurred.

"THE REIGN OF TERROR"

During the first two years of the Revolution many nobles had been attacked by mobs of peasants. Their houses were burned down and their property destroyed. Many of them fled from France to various parts of Germany, where they told stories of their sufferings. The German princes took up their cry, and the Emperor and the King of Prussia joined together and tried to urge the rest of Europe to make war on France. French armies collected on the frontier, and great numbers of volunteers joined the colours for the defence of the country and to save the Revolution. Among these troops was a force from Marseilles, and as they marched northwards they sang for the first time the famous French national anthem, the "Marseillaise."

In 1792 Louis XVI's ministers forced Louis to declare



DANTON, ROBESPIERRE AND MARAT.

Three revolutionary leaders making plans in a Parisian wineshop. Notice the costumes and furniture.

war against the Emperor and the King of Prussia. The Prussians then invaded France, and the French people attacked the King, massacred his Swiss bodyguard and imprisoned him. A new parliament was then called to draw up yet another scheme of government. In this parliament, which was called the National Convention, there were two parties of men, called the Girondins and the Jacobins. They declared France a republic and the King deposed. They issued a declaration offering help to any nation revolting for their freedom against their Government as the French themselves had done. In the following year (1793) the King was executed, and a body of nine men was formed in Paris, called the Committee of Public Safety. Its business was to govern the country, to crush the enemies

of the Revolution and to organise French armies to fight the enemies of France, whose numbers were now increasing.

In order to crush enemies at home certain members of the Committee belonging to the Jacobin party decided to carry out, without trial, the execution of anyone they chose. One leader, named Danton, and several of his followers were against such an extreme measure, and so the control of the Committee passed out of his hands. The man who now took the lead was a lawyer, named Robespierre, who was prepared to go to any extremes to carry the Revolution forward. His plan, in his own words, was "to govern the people by Reason and the enemies of the people by Terror." By this he meant that he intended to destroy the old religion and to frighten everyone into agreeing with him. He closed all the churches and forced everyone to worship the Goddess of Reason. Anybody who was suspected of working against the Revolution was immediately sent without trial to the guillotine to be executed. Similar committees were set up in the Provinces of France. Dozens of people were sent daily to their death in this way.

This period of the Revolution, which lasted from 1793 to 1794, is called the "Reign of Terror." Mostly the people attacked were members of noble families, or aristocrats, the friends of those who had fled from France and had persuaded the states of Europe to make war against France. Among those guillotined in 1794 was the Queen of France herself. She was an Austrian princess named Marie Antoinette, and her violent death sent a thrill of horror through Europe, which was especially felt in Austria. Altogether about 20,000 people were guillotined in Paris and the country in little more than a year. Robespierre brought Danton and some of his followers to the guillotine, and he was then supreme. But his power did

not last long. A conspiracy among the members of the National Convention brought about his fall in July, 1794, and he himself fell a victim to the guillotine.

Soon after Robespierre's death the "Reign of Terror" came to an end, in 1795. Then a new body of five men, called the Directory, took charge of affairs. The course of the French Revolution now changed. In spite of all the distress and horror of the first six years of the Revolution, nothing had really been done to deal with the country's money difficulties, which had been the first cause of the outbreak. All the same, many new rights had been gained by the French people, and now the chief concern of the new Government was to carry on the war against the many enemies of France. It was this war which brought to the front the mightiest leader that France ever had, namely Napoleon Bonaparte.

SUMMARY

The French Revolution began in 1789, when the States-General (Parliament) met for the first time since 1614, and a Paris mob stormed the Bastille (state prison). The "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was issued and a new form of government drawn up in 1791. France declared war on Austria and Prussia in 1792, and in 1793 the "Reign of Terror" began. France was declared a republic, and Louis XVI and his Queen, as well as many aristocrats, were guillotined. Robespierre was supreme during this time, but was himself guillotined in 1794. In 1795 the "Reign of Terror" ended, and a Directory of five men governed the country for the next four years.

GROUP WORK

1. For this and succeeding chapters continue the building up of the time chart, begun in Book II, for the rest of the eighteenth, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Give suggestions to section

leaders as to events, etc., to be marked on the chart, and contribute pictures, cuttings, etc., appropriate to each century to be placed in the pouch beneath.

2. Class in three sections prepare notes on the aristocrats, the middle class and the peasants in France at the time of the Revolution respectively. (I. H. Humphrey's *Short History of the French Revolution* will help you.) Compare notes.

3. Hold a mock trial of Louis XVI.

4. Choose one of the novels dealing with this period—e.g. F. S. Brereton's *Facts of the Red Cockade*, Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities*, Henty's *In the Reign of Terror*—and recount a scene from it to the class.

5. Passages from Carlyle's *French Revolution* might be read to the class.

EXERCISES

1. Find out more about the life of one of the leaders of the French Revolution—e.g. Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre.

2. Imagine yourself a French peasant at this time, and write a short composition on your hardships. (A. Birkhead's *The Story of the French Revolution* will help you.)

3. Compare the execution of Louis XVI with that of Charles I.

4. Prepare your own time chart for use while reading this book. Make separate columns for events at home and overseas respectively.

5. For this and all other chapters use the maps at the beginning and end of the book and those given in certain chapters.

6. Make sure you understand how to use the Index at the end of the book, and always refer to it, when necessary, while you are reading.

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

THE CORSICAN SOLDIER

THE war that France was fighting had begun in 1792, when many of the French people were convinced that Prussia and Austria were trying to destroy the liberties that the French had won. In the following year France declared war against Britain, Holland and Spain. So by 1793 she was fighting most of the important countries in Europe. The alliance of these powers was partly broken in 1795, when Prussia made peace with France and took no further part in this war.

In the midst of France's difficulties at home and her wars abroad, there appeared the great French leader Napoleon Bonaparte. He was not really a Frenchman at all. His father was an Italian, living in Corsica, a Mediterranean island belonging to France. Here Napoleon was born in 1769. He was trained as an artillery officer in France, and at one time in his youth had the ambition to lead a revolt of the Corsicans against French rule. But later, seeing his chance, he joined the French Republican army and changed his plans. Napoleon was a little man, but he had a tremendous brain, and he soon showed that he had a wonderful gift of command. In 1795 he scattered a mob in Paris which was rising against the Government, and the Government saw how useful this young officer would be to them. So in 1796 he was sent in command of a French army to fight the Austrians in Italy. This was where he first fully showed his great military power.



"THE WHIFT OF GRAPE-SHOT"

Napoleon scattering the mob which rose against the Directory in 1795. What sort of building is on the right of the picture?

He was brilliantly successful. He drove the Austrians out of North Italy, marched south and made a treaty with the Pope, who surrendered a part of the north of Italy to France. He then turned back and attacked the Austrians again, and forced them to make peace and give up much land to the French in 1797.

Through his great victories Napoleon became the hero of France. Both Prussia and Austria had made peace, but Britain still stood out against France. The British navy was so strong that the French did not attempt a direct attack against England, but instead the French Government sent Napoleon to attack Egypt in the hope of striking a great blow at the British Empire in the East. Napoleon set out in 1798 and defeated the Turkish power in Egypt,

but was cut off from the sea by a great naval victory by Nelson, in which the French fleet was destroyed at the mouth of the River Nile. In 1799, therefore, Napoleon returned to France to find a new alliance formed against the French, consisting of Britain, Austria, Russia and some smaller states. Napoleon then decided that not only would he command the French armies, but would take control of the Government as well. By a sudden and unexpected stroke, he overthrew the Directory of five and set up a new form of government of which he was the head being called First Consul. The French people accepted him as their ruler, and then in 1800 he set off on his wars again.

This time he surprised the Austrians by crossing the Alps with his forces. He was the first commander to do this since the days of Hannibal. He utterly defeated the Austrians once more, so that they were forced in 1801 again to make peace. This time they handed to France the whole of the left bank of the Rhine. Again only Britain was left at war with France. In 1802 the two countries made peace by the Treaty of Amiens. By this treaty Britain recognised the French Republic and Napoleon as the head of it. Both France and Britain agreed to give up a good deal of their power in the Mediterranean by returning certain of the places they had conquered there. This was not really a peace at all, but a truce, for both countries took a short rest, and after a few months the war broke out again in 1803.

NAPOLÉON BECOMES EMPEROR

By that time Napoleon had already increased his power in the government of France. In 1802 he called himself Consul for Life. With this title went the right to name



NAPOLÉON CROSSING THE ALPS IN 1800.

The picture shows Napoleon's army halting at the highest point of the Great St Bernard Pass. What is the thinking before which Napoleon is standing and what do you think he is doing?

the person who should succeed him. In order that nobody should say that he had done this without the people's consent, he arranged that the French nation should vote as to whether they agreed to this plan of government or not. The voting showed that a large majority of the people were in favour of Napoleon making this change. In this way Napoleon pretended that democracy, or the rule of the people, had triumphed. But it was really Napoleon who, by his victories, had put himself in such a strong position that the people were bound to do as he wished. Napoleon followed up this action two years later, in 1804, by declaring himself Emperor of the French. Again the people voted in his favour. Napoleon brought the Pope to Paris, and at a great service in the Cathedral the little Corsican soldier was crowned Emperor.

So you see what a curious change had come about in France in the course of fifteen years. The Revolution had been brought to an end, and the poor and down-trodden people had gained many benefits. The King and Queen had been executed, and the members of the Royal Family who had escaped were in exile. The Revolution had resulted in the setting-up of a republic or government without a king, but now there was really a new king who called himself Emperor. In many ways Napoleon was just as much of a tyrant as the earlier kings had been, but he was accepted by the French people. He had brought them greater military glory than even Louis XIV, and had realised the French ambition of making the whole of the Rhine the eastern boundary of the country. And because he was born of poor and ordinary parents, he made it possible for all men, who had the ability, to rise high in the service of the country. He had a saying: "Every corporal has a field marshal's baton in his knapsack." By this

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE



[From a water colour by Stevenson]

SOLDIERS IN NAPOLEON'S ARMY

Find out which is the infantryman and which the cavalryman

he meant that any ordinary soldier who was good enough to become a corporal might rise, if he showed he had the talent, to the highest command. Many of Napoleon's greatest commanders were men who had risen from the humblest positions. So, though he was a tyrant who destroyed the liberty of the French people, he gave them all an equal chance to rise.

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON'S RULE

Napoleon had risen from a lowly position himself, and he knew and said that the Revolution had made his rise possible. A man with Napoleon's great gifts would probably have become a famous man in any case. But the French Revolution gave him chances which he could never have got otherwise. These chances he took and used to the full. But he never forgot his own family. He put several of his brothers in high positions, even making them kings of some of the states that he conquered. But none of them was really successful as a ruler, and they all caused Napoleon a good deal of trouble by their foolish conduct and mistakes.

Napoleon was not only a great soldier: he was also a good law-giver. Though he meant to keep the power in his own hands, he still thought of the good of the country. He sent out officials, called Prefects, into various parts of the country to see that his plans of government were carried out. He made new systems, or codes, of law for trying cases and criminals. He improved the system of education by establishing new schools and colleges. In 1808 he founded the University of France, which became the centre of the educational system throughout the country. He also cleared France of her money difficulties. He established the Bank of France, and kept the expenses of government as low as possible by being very economical and by watching carefully how public money was spent. He did not borrow money to pay his way. Instead, he made each country he conquered pay an indemnity, or bill of costs for war expenses, and these he used to help France. French trade increased under his rule, and roads and canals were made to help transport.

If France could have remained at peace, she would have become a happy and prosperous country under Napoleon's rule. But Napoleon could not rest for long as a great ruler in peace. He was a soldier, and he wanted to be fighting and showing his powers as a fighter and leader. His system of forcing all Frenchmen to be trained as soldiers, a system called conscription, gave him hundreds of thousands of trained men. He believed he could use them and the power he had gained and his great military genius to conquer Europe and even the world. He had made himself Emperor, and he now determined to make an empire worthy of the government of an Emperor such as he. War had already started again in 1803. You will read in Chapter 5 how he fared in it, and what fortune it brought himself and France in the end.

SUMMARY

Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1769. Having crushed a rising in Paris in 1795, he defeated the Austrians in Italy (1796-7) and forced them to make peace. His Egyptian campaign (1798) failed, and he returned to France, where in 1799 he overthrew the Directory and made himself Consul. All this time France was at war with Britain, but the war ended in 1802 with the Treaty of Amiens. Napoleon made further changes in government, and in 1804 the Pope attended his coronation in Paris as Emperor of the French. At home Napoleon carried out many reforms, but meanwhile war had broken out again and lasted until 1815.

GROUP WORK

1. Read a passage to the class from either Conan Doyle's *Brigadier Gerard* or C. Gilson's *The Lost Empire*.
2. Find out more about the life of Napoleon (C. R. Cleave's *Napoleon* will help you) and present the results of your enquiries to

3. Class in two sections prepare notes respectively on warfare in Napoleon's time and on that of to-day. Compare notes.
4. Debate whether Napoleon should become Emperor of the French.

EXERCISES

1. Pick out on a map of Europe places and areas affected by Napoleon's campaigns up to 1802.
2. Imagine yourself a young French soldier under Napoleon in Italy or Egypt, and write a letter to your father in France giving your impressions.
3. Write a short character-sketch of Napoleon (*Napoleon* in the "Children's Heroes Series" [Nelson] will help you).
4. Describe the events illustrated either by the picture on p. 27 or by that on p. 29.

WILLIAM PITT AND THE FRENCH WAR

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND BRITAIN

WHEN the French Revolution broke out in 1789 William Pitt, the Younger had been Prime Minister of Britain for five years, having been chosen for that position by George III at the end of 1783. In 1784 he gained a majority in the House of Commons, and during the next five years began to carry out a number of reforms. First he passed an Act for the better government of India. Next he tried to give Ireland new trade rights which would have made her more contented and prosperous. Again he tried to pass an Act to change the system by which men were elected to Parliament. Both these measures were opposed and Pitt failed to pass them, with the result that there was much trouble in both countries over these matters later on. But he was successful in improving money matters in the country and in stopping some of the horrors of the negro slave-trade. He also made a commercial treaty with France which meant that both countries could trade freely together.

From this you see that Pitt was a great statesman trying to carry out useful reforms, and helping his country to recover from the strain and cost of the many wars she had taken part in during the eighteenth century. When the French Revolution broke out Pitt thought it would be a good thing for France, for Britain and for Europe. He thought that if France made her system of government better and got out of her money difficulties, she would be a better and a more useful neighbour. He thought Europe

would remain at peace and his own country's trade would be improved and her wealth increased because of this. But he did not realise at that time how wild the Revolution would become. There were many other Englishmen also who thought that Frenchmen were doing a fine thing in making efforts to reform their country. Many of these men formed themselves into societies which discussed the affairs of the French and sent them messages of sympathy and good-will. They thought that if France were reformed, Englishmen would be able to carry out the reforms which Pitt had already attempted but had failed to pass through Parliament.

But in a few months the peaceful movement of reform in France began to turn into acts of bloodshed, and many Englishmen feared what might happen as a result all over Europe. Among these was Edmund Burke, a Member of Parliament, who was celebrated as an orator. At the end of 1790 he published a book called *Reflections on the French Revolution*. In this he showed how the French revolutionists took no account of other men's rights, and in attempting to reform their government were bringing France to a condition in which she would have no government at all. Burke's book had a wonderful effect on many Englishmen, who now began to turn against France and her Revolution. Another Englishman, named Thomas Paine, tried to reply to Burke in a book, published in 1791, called *The Rights of Man*. In this he praised all that the French had done, and tried to persuade his countrymen to support them in what they were doing. The book sold in many thousands of copies, but Paine failed to persuade the country to follow his teaching. For Pitt saw that he must now take action to stop any possibility of things happening in England as they were happening in France.



Edmund Burke (1729-1797).

Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

TWO ENGLISH WRITERS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By the end of 1792 France, as you read in the last chapter, was at war with Austria and Prussia, and Pitt, realising that Britain would soon have to fight, began to make preparations.

PITT LEADS BRITAIN IN WAR

At the beginning of 1793 France declared war on Britain, and Pitt changed from a peace minister to a war minister, and found himself, like his father nearly forty years before, leading his country in armed conflict with the French. He tried to form a great fighting alliance with Austria and Prussia. But these two were jealous of each other, as of old, and much time was wasted and the opportunity of crushing the French lost. Prussia made a

separate peace with France in 1795, and Austria made peace in 1797. The army Pitt had got together to fight on the Continent was now useless, and Britain had to be content with fighting the French on the sea, where she won several victories. She also captured several French posts in outlying parts of the world, including some West Indian islands and the Cape of Good Hope, which was a Dutch possession.

For the French had forced both Holland and Spain into alliance with them, and so we had to fight the fleets of both these countries as well. Early in 1797 Admiral Jervis, supported by Nelson, who was then a commodore, destroyed the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent. Then towards the end of the same year Admiral Duncan heavily defeated the Dutch fleet at the Battle of Camperdown. Up to this time England had been fearing a French invasion, but now the danger of that was not so great, especially when in 1798 Nelson crushed Napoleon's fleet in Aboukir Bay on the Egyptian coast at the Battle of the Nile. While Napoleon was away in Egypt Pitt formed a new alliance with Austria and Russia, and France lost much that Napoleon had gained in Italy. But no sooner was Napoleon back than he crushed the Austrian power once more in Italy. Also he forced Russia to make peace and join him, with other states in Europe, to prevent Britain's sea-power from becoming all-powerful, just as these countries had done during the American War of Independence. But in spite of this, the British fleet remained supreme, and Napoleon agreed to make peace. In this way Britain signed the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and for a time there was general peace in Europe.

During the years of war, Pitt had been very busy at home as well. When a war is on, the Government has to be particularly severe against anyone who tries to make

WILLIAM PITT AND THE FRENCH WAR, 31
the winning of the war more difficult. In this way many rights which people enjoy in time of peace are denied to them in time of war. Pitt was so determined to win the war that he took very strong measures against all those who were not in favour of the war, and passed several Acts through Parliament to stop men from holding meetings for this purpose. In Ireland especially there was a good deal of trouble. The Roman Catholics in the south were not satisfied with the Act of 1782 which gave the Irish Parliament rights that it never enjoyed before. So they decided in 1798 to rebel and to get French help against the British Government. A French force landed in Ireland in the same year, but it was forced to surrender to the British, and the rebellion came to an end. Pitt now saw that to prevent the Irish from seeking French help again, something must be done to make them friendly. He therefore passed the Act of Union in 1800. By this Act Ireland was joined to Great Britain, as Scotland had been joined to England in 1707. The Irish, instead of having a Parliament of their own, were to send representatives to the Parliament at Westminster, and to share the benefits enjoyed by England and Scotland.

But Pitt realised that this Act would not satisfy the great majority of Irishmen, who were Roman Catholics, unless they could sit in Parliament. The first united Parliament of all three countries met in 1801, and Pitt decided to pass an Act giving freedom to Roman Catholics. But George III said that he could never consent to this. He remained obstinate, and nothing would persuade him to change his mind. So Pitt resigned while the war with France was still on. In this way George III drove out the son in 1801, in the middle of a great war, just as he had driven out the father in 1762. So the country lost a great

war minister, and the Irish remained for many years after this in a state of discontent. Luckily peace was made in the following year, though it only lasted just long enough for the two countries to rest and get ready for the next round.

THE RETURN AND DEATH OF PITT

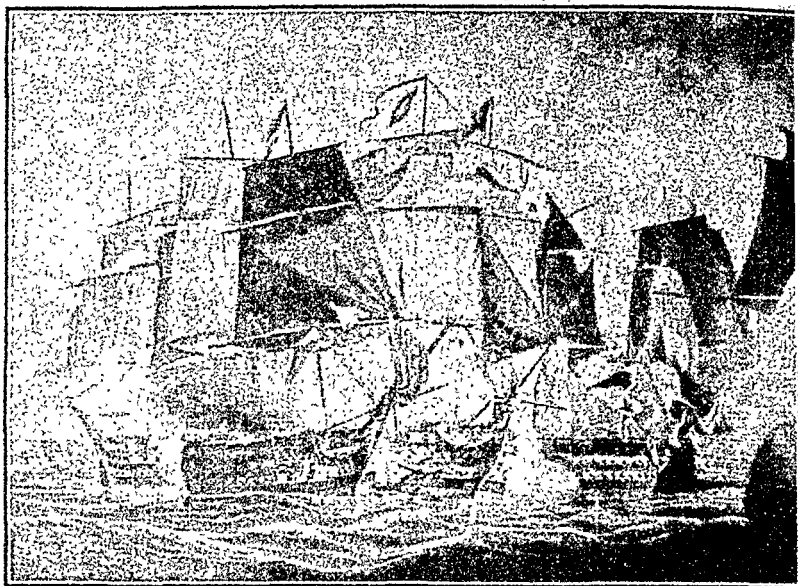
The war that had lasted from 1792 to 1802 was a war against the French Republic. Britain and her various allies had been trying to destroy the new French Government and to restore the old kind of kingly rule. The French victories in this war had done some good in Europe, and many bad things had been destroyed, both in France and outside, which could never come again. But a few months after the Peace of Amiens, the war began again, and this time it was quite a different war. The French, instead of fighting to defend the Revolution and to keep the enemies of it out of their country, now began to fight for something quite different. For now Napoleon was determined to use his great military abilities, and the mighty armies that he had trained, to conquer Europe and the world. The French nation was ready to follow him in this. So Europe now had to defend itself against a man and a nation who wanted to become tyrants over them. Napoleon knew that he could never conquer Europe until he had first conquered Britain. During the months of peace Napoleon showed great enmity towards Britain, doing all he could to upset her trade and asking the British Government to turn out of England all those French people who had escaped from the Revolution. The British Government saw that war was coming once more, and it began to fit the fleet again and to call up the soldiers who had been demobilised in 1802. Then Napoleon accused Britain of breaking the peace and Britain declared war on France.



NAPOLÉON'S PLAN TO INVADÉ ENGLAND

An English cartoon of 1803. The artist imagines Napoleon riding through the streets of London seated backwards on a horse, and tries in this way to show how Englishmen laughed at his efforts to conquer their country.

In the new war Napoleon's great idea was to invade England, and he got together a great army on the French coast ready to be carried across the Straits of Dover as soon as the French gained command of the sea, if only for a few hours. All this caused great excitement in England. Thousands of British volunteers came forward, and in 1804 Pitt was recalled as Prime Minister. In this same year, as you read in Chapter 3, Napoleon made himself Emperor of the French and was complete master of France. In 1805 he tried to carry out his invasion of England by a trick. He sent a French fleet westward to the West Indies, and Lord Nelson followed it. But Nelson turned back in time, and fought the famous Battle of Trafalgar off



THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, OCTOBER 21, 1805.

Nelson's ship, the *Victory*, breaking the French line. Notice the style of the ships of the period and see if you can recognise the *Victory*.

the Spanish coast near the Strait of Gibraltar. In this battle, although Nelson himself was slain, twenty French and Spanish ships were captured or destroyed. Napoleon had already given up his idea of invading England, but, in any case, Trafalgar made it certain that he would never be able to do so.

Pitt now formed a new alliance with Austria and Russia. Napoleon at once broke up his camp on the coast and marched against the Austrians before the Russians were ready to help them. The Austrians were hopelessly defeated, and then fell back and joined the Russians near Vienna, the capital of Austria. But in the great battle of Austerlitz, which followed at the end of 1805, Napoleon won a tremendous victory. The Russians retreated,

Napoleon entered Vienna and Austria prayed for peace. Napoleon offered very hard terms, which Austria had to accept. Napoleon now held a great part of Germany in his power. He forced the ruler of Austria in 1806 to give up his title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and to take the title of Emperor of Austria. Napoleon also made several of the German states into a union under his own control, called the Confederation of the Rhine. This was the end of the Holy Roman Empire, for it was never afterwards revived.

These losses were a great disappointment to Pitt, who had hoped that Austria and Russia, helped by British power at sea, might check Napoleon's victorious march on land. When Pitt heard of the result of the Battle of Austerlitz he lost heart. He was in very weak health, and he knew *that it would take many years of struggle before Napoleon could be crushed.* He was not strong enough to face this, and so he died in 1806 and Britain lost her great leader at a time when she needed him most. But, as you will see in the next chapter, Britain continued her great struggle in spite of Pitt's death.

SUMMARY

The French Revolution stopped William Pitt's work of reform, and by 1793 Britain was at war with France. Pitt made alliances with Prussia, Austria and Russia. The British defeated the French in several sea-battles (Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown in 1797, and Aboukir Bay or the Nile in 1798). Pitt passed the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800, but resigned in 1801. The war ended in 1802, but started again in 1803. Pitt returned as Prime Minister in 1804. Britain again defeated the French on the sea (Trafalgar, 1805), but Napoleon was still victorious on land, defeating

the Austrians at Austerlitz (1805). After this Pitt died a disappointed man in 1806.

GROUP WORK

1. There are two good stories of home-life in this period (Conan Doyle's *Rodney Stone* and H. Strang's *In Trafalgar Bay*), and some good novels about Nelson and his times (e.g. Conan Doyle's *Uncle Bernac*, E. Fraser's *Jack Chaloner*, Henty's *By Conduct and Courage*). Read a passage from one of these to the class.

2. Debate on whether the French Revolution was a good or a bad thing from the Englishman's point of view.

3. Sections of the class each prepare notes on one of the sea-battles of this period. (Use Newbolt's *Book of the Blue Sea*, J. Baikie's *Peeps at the Royal Navy* and a life of Nelson—e.g. the one given in the next question.) Compare notes.

EXERCISES

1. Write a short life of either William Pitt the Younger or Nelson. (See *Nelson* in "Children's Heroes Series.")

2. Describe Napoleon's preparations for the invasion of England. (Use the books mentioned at the end of the last chapter.)

3. Trace out on a map Nelson's movements from the moment when he started his westward journey to the Battle of Trafalgar.

4. With the help of the picture
the Battle of Trafalgar.

**BRITAIN AND THE OVERTHROW OF
NAPOLEON**

"THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM"

ALTHOUGH Napoleon had had to give up his idea of invading England, he by no means gave up the hope of crushing her. His plan now was to bring all the countries of Europe under his control, and then to make them all shut their ports against British trade. He forced Prussia into war again in 1806 and defeated her in two battles. Following this, he occupied the Prussian capital, Berlin, and then marched eastward to fight the Russians. He defeated them also, and in 1807 made peace with the Czar. After occupying Berlin in 1806, he gave out his orders to many of the states of Europe stopping all trade with Britain, and in the next year other countries were ordered to do the same. Continental countries were not to allow any British goods to land and were to export only certain goods to Britain. Also any ship belonging to a neutral country—that is, one not fighting in the war, such as the United States—which had called at a port in Great Britain or any of her colonies was not to be allowed to enter a European port. All British goods were to be seized wherever they were found and handed over to the French Government. This plan was called the "Continental System," and Napoleon hoped by it that he would weaken British commerce so that Britain would become poor and be forced to ask for peace in order to get her trade back.

But Britain soon had an answer ready. She also issued

orders, known as "Orders in Council," saying that all ships of France and her allies were to be seized as "prizes of war." The orders also stated that even neutral ships entering or leaving French ports were to be seized as well, unless they could prove that they had touched at a British port since they had left their own country. This last rule is important to remember, because it led in 1812 to war between Britain and the United States. A plan like the one started by Napoleon and replied to by Britain is called a blockade, because its object is to obstruct or block the enemy's coast. Now, the difference between the two blockades was this: the French blockade was not complete, but the British blockade was. This means that Napoleon could not possibly make sure that his orders were being carried out everywhere, because his power at sea was not strong enough. But the British Government had control of the sea, and so was able to enforce its commands by means of the British fleet.

In the end Napoleon's plan was a complete failure for several reasons. In the first place, there were some countries, like Portugal in the south-west and Sweden in the north of Europe, which Napoleon had not conquered, and with these countries Britain kept up her ordinary trade. Secondly, no country in Europe could live without British goods. The result was that there was a great deal of smuggling, so that British articles could be landed in Continental countries. This, of course, put up the price of goods and made Napoleon's orders all the harder to bear. Thirdly, Britain's wealth depended on industry and manufacture as well as on trade. The Industrial Revolution had made British goods very much cheaper to produce. As Britain had command of the sea, she was able to sell her goods in her colonies and also in new markets, such as

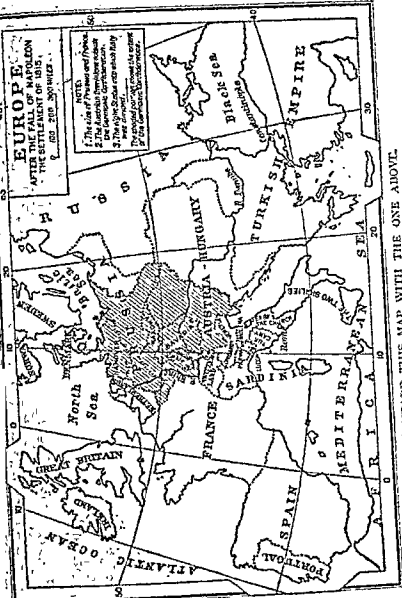
South America, which was now shut off from trade with the rest of Europe. In fact, Napoleon's "Continental System" brought great harm and injury to France and her allies, so that in the end those allies revolted against their master. Naturally, it also caused much hardship in Britain, and led to unemployment and unrest. But in the end it made Britain's trade greater, by forcing her to find new markets.

THE PENINSULAR WAR

As Portugal was the one country in the western half of Europe which Napoleon had not been able to bring into his "Continental System," he decided to conquer this little country. At the same time he felt that Spain would be a better helper if he removed her king. So in 1808 he sent one army into Portugal and another to Madrid. He turned the rightful King of Spain off the throne and put his own brother, Joseph, on it in his place. When the Spaniards in the south realised what had happened they revolted against Napoleon and defeated one of his armies, so that Joseph had to retire to the north. At the same time a British army, at first commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington), who had won renown by his campaigns in India, landed in Portugal and attacked and defeated the other French army. Then Napoleon himself decided to lead an army in the Peninsula, as we call Spain and Portugal taken together. He restored his brother to his place in Madrid, and was then attacked by the British under Sir John Moore, who had replaced Wellesley for the time being. Napoleon turned to fight this force, and Moore began an orderly retreat to the north-west corner of Spain. When he reached Corunna in January 1809, he halted and

EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF NAPOLEON THE SETTLEMENT OF 1815

- NOTE:
1. The size of Prussia and France.
 2. The Austrian Empire includes about the Germanic Confederation.
 3. The Rhine States were about half the size of the Rhine.
- The shaded portion shows the extent of the Germanic Confederation.



COMPARE THIS MAP WITH THE ONE ABOVE.

defeated the French. He himself was slain, but his troops got safely away by sea.

While this was going on, Napoleon had news that Austria had again taken up arms against him. So he had to leave an army in Spain under another commander, while he went and fought the Austrians. After a time he defeated them again, and forced the Emperor of Austria to give him the hand of his daughter. In this way Napoleon divorced his first wife, Josephine, and married Princess Marie Louise. By doing so he considered that the princes of Europe would think of him as their equal. But he was greatly mistaken in this, as you will see. When he had made peace with Austria he began to pour fresh troops into the Peninsula, where Wellington was again in command. Wellington built for the defence of Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, great trenches, known as the "Lines of Torres Vedras." When the French army came against these in 1810 they could do nothing, and in 1811 had to retire into Spain. But Wellington waited in his stronghold until it was safe for him to advance into Spain.

In the year 1811 Napoleon was at the height of his power. If you study the map given here you will see what a great extent of land Napoleon held. The French Empire itself included France, the Netherlands and part of Germany and Italy. A large part of Germany was formed into the Confederation of the Rhine, of which Napoleon himself was the head. Another part of Italy he had turned into the Kingdom of Italy, of which he was king, with his step-son as viceroy. The south of Italy he called the Kingdom of Naples, of which he made a brother-in-law king. He made Poland into a separate state under his own control, and he had made one of his brothers King of Spain. The three great countries which suffered most from Napoleon's

victories and conquests were Prussia, Austria and Russia, for they had all lost a great deal of territory as Napoleon made this new map of Europe, and they suffered terribly from Napoleon's "Continental System." So you may imagine how the monarchs of these three countries hated all this, and how ready they must have been to revolt against it at the earliest opportunity.

THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON

The first of the three monarchs to determine to resist was the Czar of Russia. The Czar had made treaties with Napoleon in 1807 and 1808. By these treaties Napoleon tried to persuade the Czar that he was willing to share the world with him. But during the next three years the Czar became more and more angry at Napoleon's conduct. So he made secret arrangements with Great Britain and with Sweden. In Sweden one of Napoleon's marshals, named Bernadotte, was acting traitor to Napoleon, and was ready to help against him on condition that he gained the throne of Sweden. Britain, of course, promised help in every possible way. So in 1812 the Czar ended his peace with France, and Napoleon began marching against him with a vast army. The Russians retreated before him, removing every kind of food and supplies. Napoleon defeated the Russians in battle, and entered their capital, Moscow. But he found it deserted, and just after his arrival a great fire broke out and Napoleon had to retreat. The wintry conditions were terrible, and thousands of Napoleon's soldiers died from starvation and exposure. Napoleon rushed back to France to build up a new army, leaving the wretched remnants of his army to get back as best they could. But he had lost quite half a million men in this wild adventure.

Naturally the Russians followed quickly on the heels of the French as they fled through Germany. The states of Germany realised what had happened to Napoleon. They now began to rise against him, Prussia leading the way. Napoleon was successful for a time, but in 1813 he suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Leipzig, which was called the "Battle of the Nations," because so many nations fought in it. The Allies pursued him into France in 1814, and captured Paris. Then Napoleon abdicated and surrendered to the Allies, who sent him into exile on the island of Elba in the Mediterranean.

Britain played an important part in the overthrow of Napoleon. She was the one power which had stood out against him during all the years from 1803. She had greatly helped Russia to start war again against the French. But besides this she carried on the Peninsular War under Wellington while all these events were happening in the rest of Europe. In 1812 Wellington defeated the French in Spain, and in the following year he pursued them northwards, drove them through the Pyrenees and crossed into France. By the time the Allies entered France from the east, Wellington was occupying the whole of the south of France.

THE "HUNDRED DAYS"

While the allied armies occupied France, statesmen from the various countries met in Vienna to make a settlement of Europe's affairs. They placed on the throne of France Louis XVIII, brother of the Louis XVI who had been executed in 1793. They made a treaty agreeing to keep their armies together for the time being. It was lucky that they did, for in the middle of their treaty-making in 1815 news suddenly arrived that Napoleon had escaped



[From original drawing in the British Museum]

NAPOLEON IN EXILE AT ST. HELENA

This sketch was taken from life by an artist on the spot in 1820. You can see by this how different Napoleon was from what he had been in the days of his glory

from Elba and had landed in France. The amazing thing about it was that the French people rejoiced at his return. The army was still devoted to him, the people hated Louis XVIII, who they felt had been restored by the allied armies, and the peasants were afraid that they might lose all the benefits they had gained from the Revolution. So Napoleon was able to gather a new army of more than 100,000 men, and with it he marched into Belgium, where he met a Prussian army under Blücher, and a combined

force of British, Hanoverians and Dutch under Wellington. He drove the Prussians off and began the great Battle of Waterloo. While the struggle was going on the Prussians returned to the field, and the French were put to flight by the combined armies.

So ended the "Hundred Days," from the time of Napoleon's first abdication to his final defeat. This time Napoleon surrendered to the British, and he was sent to the lonely Atlantic island of St. Helena, where he spent the last six years of his life in misery and impatience, and died in 1821. The French people continued to adore his memory, and a time came, as you will see, when one of his nephews revived the fortunes of his family, and was able to proclaim himself Emperor of the French.

But for the time being the French nation had to be content with Louis XVIII while the statesmen of Europe completed their task of settling Europe's affairs. In this work Britain played a very important part. Her Foreign Minister, Lord Castlereagh, was present at Vienna. Since 1812 he had worked hard to help Russia and the other nations in their renewed struggle with Napoleon, and now he was looked upon as one of the most important men in Europe.

By the settlement all the royal families of Europe were restored. If you look at the map on page 49, you will see how Napoleon's map of Europe was redrawn. Russia regained her lost lands, and Prussia and Austria-Hungary were larger than they had been before the war. The German states formed a union or league called the Germanic Confederation, which took the place of the old Holy Roman Empire and Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine. Only a part of Austria's dominions was inside this Confederation. Italy was again divided into several states.

Belgium and Holland were joined under the King of Holland, and now became known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands. France had to be content with her old boundaries as they were at the beginning of the Revolution. Also she had to pay a heavy indemnity or damages to the Allies, and to put up with the allied armies which remained in France for some years.

In this way the French Revolution, and the wars that it had brought about, came to an end. But the French Revolution had left something behind it which was to cause much trouble in the years to come. The power of nations had destroyed Napoleon and this idea of nations was left behind. The great statesmen of Europe did not take any notice of it when they made the settlement at Vienna. So it was left to fight its battles later on.

SUMMARY

In 1806 and 1807 Napoleon began his "Continental System," and Britain replied with the "Orders in Council," each power trying to blockade the other. The plan in the end helped to bring about the overthrow of Napoleon. Britain began the Peninsular War against Napoleon in 1808, while Napoleon was master of the rest of Europe. In 1811 he was at the height of his power, but in 1812 his decline began with the retreat from Moscow. Russia and Germany joined against him, and after his defeat at Leipzig (1813), he abdicated in 1814. Suddenly he returned from the island of Elba, and the "Hundred Days" began, ending in his final overthrow in 1815.

GROUP WORK

a novel dealing with the Peninsular War (e.g. *The Story of a Scout*, by J. Finnemore, *The Spy*, by C. Gilson, *The Young Dugliss*, by G. A. Henty) or with the later days of Napoleon (e.g.

Through Russian Snows, by G. A. Henty, *Taken from the Enemy*, by Sir H. Newbolt), and read or describe to the class an episode from it.

2. Class in three sections prepare notes respectively on the growth of national feeling against Napoleon in Prussia, Russia and Austria. Use the books on Napoleon mentioned at the end of Chapter 3.

3. Make a community map of Europe, showing Napoleon's Empire at its greatest extent.

4. The class might have read to it some passages from Hardy's *The Dynasts*.

EXERCISES

1. Study a poem dealing with some episode of this time—e.g. Campbell's "Hohenlinden," "When Napoleon was Flying," Wolfe's "Burial of Sir John Moore," Tennyson's "Waterloo."

2. On outline maps of Europe put in in different colours the areas conquered by Napoleon and those restored to the various states after his fall.

3. Imagine yourself one of Napoleon's soldiers either during the retreat from Moscow or at the time of Napoleon's return from Elba, and write your impressions.

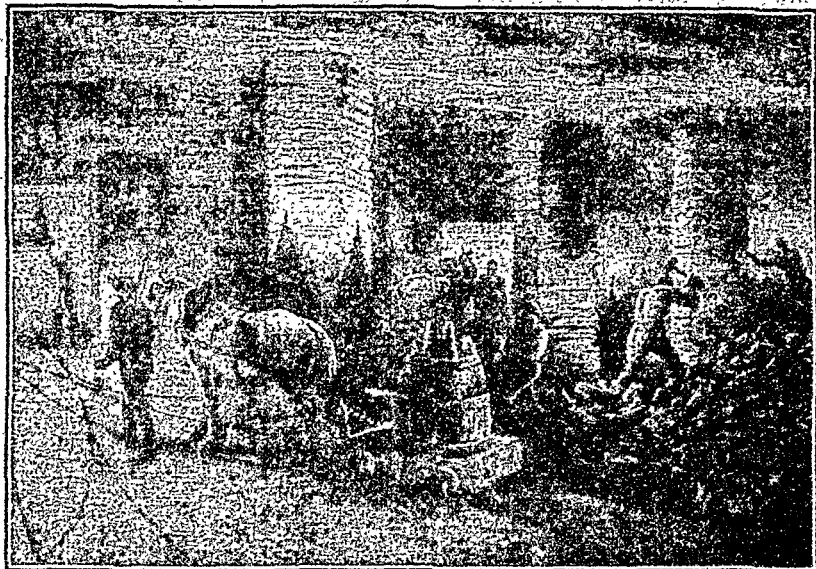
4. Describe the part played by the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War.

--- - BRITAIN AFTER THE WAR - ---

WAR AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

OF GREAT BRITAIN suffered greatly through the French Revolution, through Napoleon and through the wars with France. She had been constantly at war from 1792 to 1815, with a single break of only a few months. All this had cost a great deal of money, and at the end of the war she had an enormous debt. At the same time she had been much freer from Napoleon and the hardships he caused than most of the other countries of Europe. At least his armies had never trod in our land. Also British sea-power had kept Napoleon's might off the ocean, and although Napoleon's plan of the "Continental System" had made trade difficult with the Continent, the amount of British trade was greater at the end of the war than it had been at the beginning. As a result of the war also Britain gained several new colonial possessions, especially the Cape of Good Hope, which afterwards grew into the Union of South Africa, one of the most important parts of the Empire. Britain could have got much more from the treaty if she had wished, but she was content with her great sea-power, her enormous trade and the important position she held in Europe and the world.

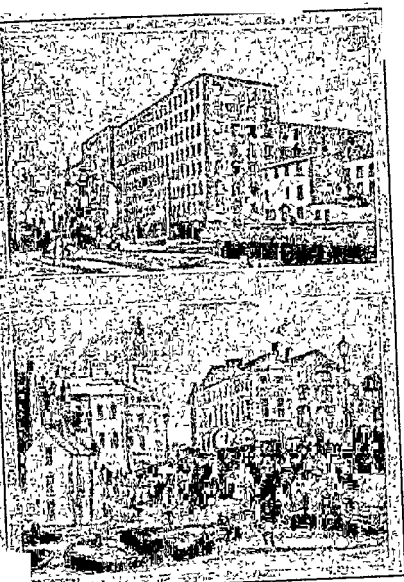
Great Britain, then, seemed to the outside world to be in a state of great prosperity at the end of the Napoleonic War. All through the war with France the Industrial Revolution, about which you read in Book II, was going on. It was this Revolution that made it possible for



A STAFFORDSHIRE COAL-MINE.

Working coal in a Staffordshire mine about the middle of the nineteenth century. Compare this with a picture of a coal-mine to-day.

Britain to produce goods cheaply and carry them as exports all over the world. But it was also the cause of great distress and difficulty at home. All the new machines that had been invented in the second half of the eighteenth century were rapidly multiplied. Cotton, woollen and linen goods were produced at a much more rapid rate. There were also great advances in the making of knitted, lace and silk articles. In the Midlands great makers of pottery, such as Josiah Wedgwood, carried on their new businesses. Moreover, the inventions had made it possible to get coal much more rapidly. Besides being used for household purposes, coal was now required as fuel for the new machines. With the increase in the use of coal came a great production of iron, which could by its use be smelted



TWO TOWNS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND
they were in the first half of the nineteenth century. The upper picture
was cotton factories in Manchester in 1829, the lower a part of Leeds in
1849. Compare these with pictures of the same towns to-day

rapidly. Iron now began to be employed for all kinds of new purposes, such as bridges and ships. This use of iron led in its turn to great improvements in engineering.

All these developments led to new methods of industry altogether. Whereas, earlier, men and women had worked in their own homes, they now began to work in factories. For the power that was now used for the production of goods had to be fixed in a central place to which the workers had to go. To set up these factories and keep them going a great deal of money had to be found. This money, which we call capital, was provided by men whom we call capitalists. These were the new manufacturers who were responsible for the production and distribution of the finished article. The factories were set up near the places where the raw material was obtained. As a result there was a great shifting of the population to the Midlands and the North, which before had been only thinly populated. Thus Lancashire became the home of the cotton industry, Yorkshire of the woollen industry, and Staffordshire of the pottery trade. Thus, also, Northumberland, South Yorkshire and South Wales became the new centres of the iron trade, because of their coal- and iron-fields.

In all these places new towns sprang up, and they were rapidly filled with workpeople. But not only did the population move: it also greatly increased. We do not know the earlier figures exactly, because the Government did not begin to count the people by means of the census until 1801. But we are pretty sure that the population in 1760 was less than 7,000,000, while we know for certain that by 1821 it had increased to more than 12,000,000. This enormous rise was over the country as a whole, but in many towns it was proportionately much greater. For example,

the population of Liverpool, Manchester and Bradford nearly doubled between 1800 and 1820.

Great changes also went on in agriculture during the war. The system of enclosures, which was described in the last chapter of Book II, progressed very rapidly. This became more necessary than ever during the war, because there were more people to be fed, owing to the rise in population. But this was just at the time when Napoleon's "Continental System" made it difficult to get supplies of food from the Continent. Also towards the end of the war with Napoleon we were at war with the United States (1812-14), and this cut us off from the corn supplies of America as well. So, somehow or other, food supplies at home had to be increased. The easiest way to do this was to enclose several small farms into one large one on which special methods of growing things could be introduced. As the war went on more and more farms were enclosed. The farmers were able to charge enormous prices for their corn, and the great landowners charged the farmers enormous rents. The people on the land who did not share in this prosperity were the farm labourers, whose wages were kept low although they had to pay a very high price for bread.

POVERTY, DISTRESS AND RIOTS

As soon as the war was over trouble began at home. Most people thought that a great time of prosperity would begin with the peace. But, instead of this, it was found that the buying by the Government of goods to serve their needs in war-time suddenly stopped. Prices fell rapidly. Iron, for example, dropped from £20 to £8 a ton. Also, the countries of the Continent had become so poor through the war that they could not buy the goods, cheap though

they were, produced in Britain. The result was that many men fell out of employment. Besides this, there were thousands of demobilised soldiers and sailors who could not find work. The workmen wanted to form themselves into bodies called trade unions, but laws had already been passed making it illegal for them to combine in order to improve wages and conditions of work. Then the price of corn fell but when the people wanted to buy cheaper corn from foreign countries, the Government passed a Corn Law which said that no foreign corn should be imported until the price of English reached a certain very high point. This sent the price up again, and great numbers of people were faced with starvation. To make matters worse there was a very bad harvest in 1816.

The condition of the poor at this time was terrible. The ordinary people in those days had no form of education. They had to start work when they were children, and they worked in factories and mines in the most horrible conditions, and for much longer hours than people work nowadays. The punishments inflicted for even small offences were most brutal. In 1819 there were still two hundred different kinds of crimes, such as stealing sheep and horses for which the punishment was hanging. All this time there was no proper police force, such as we have to-day and it was not until 1829 that the modern police system was begun. And, of course, the ordinary people had no share whatever in the government of the country. So you can easily imagine how the vast crowds of unemployed in town and country looked upon their lot. They saw no way out of their difficulties, and they became desperate. Unemployed farm labourers burned ricks and unemployed factory workers tried to destroy machinery.

After the bad harvest of 1816 fierce riots broke out in



THE MANCHESTER MASSACRE, OR THE BATTLE OF PETERLOO,
1819

A cartoon drawn at the time by an artist who was against the Government. Notice the head in the left top corner. This represents a Magistrate, who is saying, "Cut them down! Don't be afraid they are not armed." The scales represent the scales of justice weighed down heavily against the people.

various parts of the country. In 1817 a number of unemployed artisans in Manchester decided to march to London to complain to the Government about their hardships. They carried blankets for sleeping on the way, and so were known as the "Blanketeers." But before they reached London they were broken up. In London mobs tried to get their wrongs righted by rioting. In 1819 about 40,000 men held a meeting to demand the reform of Parliament in St. Peter's, near Manchester. The magistrates became frightened and ordered a regiment of cavalry to charge the crowd. Ten people were killed and five hundred wounded. This terrible event was

known as the Manchester Massacre, or the Battle of Peterloo. In the following year, to avenge this a number of men in London plotted to murder the members of the Cabinet. This was called the Cato Street Conspiracy. But it came to nothing, as the plotters were betrayed and arrested.

THE GOVERNMENT USES FORCE

From this you will see how little the Government understood the difficulties which the poor had to face. Parliament at that time was what it had been for centuries before. The same kind of representatives met to pass the laws as had met when the country was quite different from what it had become by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even the new factory owners and capitalists, who were now among the richest and most important people in the land, were not yet represented in Parliament. The Cabinet which had to deal with these riots had come into power in 1812. These ministers had carried on the war with Napoleon during the last three years, they had taken part in making the peace, and now they had to cope with the difficulties that followed. There were no great men like Pitt among them, and most of them looked in the old way at the new things that had come about, as though the state of the country were what it had been in the eighteenth century.

To add to the Government's difficulties there was trouble over the King. In 1810 George III had become so ill with a disease of the mind that he became quite unable to take any further share in government. His son, George, acted as Regent for him. But he was a prince with a very bad character. He was quite unlike his father, and took no interest in the real affairs of the country.

Instead of helping his ministers in this difficult time, he behaved so badly that they had to work hard to hide the Regent's sins from the knowledge of the public. George III lived on insane for another ten years, and then in 1820 his wretched son succeeded him as George IV, and the country had to bear him as King for ten years more. The Government, then, did not realise that the poor people had real grievances, and that they were acting as they did because they were desperate. They thought the riots and outbreaks would lead to a revolution, like the one Europe had been fighting in France, unless they were crushed by force. So, instead of trying to improve matters by reform, they passed severe Acts, not only against all who took part in rioting, but also against those who criticised the Government in the newspapers and those who tried to hold public meetings urging reform. These harsh laws, passed in 1819, were known as the Six Acts, and they remained in force for some years. Then, as some of the older members of the Government died, younger men joined the Cabinet, and a change gradually came about, with results about which you will read in the next two chapters.

SUMMARY

Though Britain was victorious in the war, there was much poverty and distress in the country after it. Corn Laws were passed to protect the farmers, and the workmen in the towns were not allowed to form trade unions. Following the bad harvest of 1816 there were riots. The march of the "Blanketeers" (1817) and the Manchester Massacre or Battle of Peterloo (1819) led the Tory Government to pass severe laws against the people, known as the Six Acts (1819). The Cato Street Conspiracy (1820) failed. The Government's difficulties were increased by George III's insanity and

the Regency of his son (1810-20), who succeeded as George IV (1820-30).

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections prepare notes respectively on the "Blanketeers," Peterloo and the Cato Street Conspiracy, and on the coal, iron, woollen, cotton and pottery industries at this time (C. R. Gibson's *Romance of Modern Manufacture* and H. L. Burrows' *The Story of English Industry and Trade* will help you). Compare notes.
2. Debate whether trade unions should have rights at this period. (See Ellis Hope, *English Life and Labour*.)
3. Collect pictures of early factories.
4. Class might have read to it passages from *Shirley*, *John Halifax Gentleman*, and *Silas Marner*, to illustrate the life of the period.

EXERCISES

1. Imagine yourself one of the "Blanketeers." Describe your impressions.
2. Describe the agricultural situation in Britain after the Napoleonic War. (C. J. Hall's *Short History of English Agricultural and Rural Life* will help you.)
3. Explain why the Tory Government was unpopular at this time.
4. Study the pictures on p. 59 and say what differences you

EUROPE IN REVOLT

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RULERS

AFTER the Napoleonic wars there was much misery and discontent in most countries on the Continent, just as there was in Britain. Only the misery and discontent were worse on the Continent because there the condition of the people was even more desperate. The Governments of these countries put down any signs of revolt by measures of force which were more severe than those used in Britain, because the rulers were even more fearful than the British Government as to what might happen if strong action were not taken. Continental countries had suffered much more than Britain had by Napoleon's conduct, though the people had learned new ideas of government from the French Revolution and Napoleon. So it was natural that the statesmen of those countries should be determined to prevent another revolution which might lead to another terrible war. But the rulers behaved so harshly that they drove the down-trodden people into rebellion, which was the very thing they were trying to prevent. The result was that there were several slight outbreaks from about the year 1820, and from that time the trouble became worse and worse, until in 1830 there were serious revolutions in several countries on the Continent at the same time. In making the treaties of 1815, the statesmen of Europe had created great difficulties for themselves. In undoing all the changes made in the map of Europe by Napoleon, the victors made several nations suffer badly, and par-



N.P.G., London.]

Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822).

Prince Metternich (1773-1859).

THE BRITISH AND AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THE TIME OF THE OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON, AND THE FOLLOWING YEARS OF PEACE.

ticularly the French, the Belgians and the Italians. To make sure that they would be strong enough to put down any outbursts against the peace they had made, the rulers decided to continue to stand together. They agreed to hold a conference or congress from time to time to discuss events and the measures that ought to be taken. The leader in this movement was Prince Metternich who was Chancellor or Chief Minister of Austria. Metternich's only idea was to keep Europe united so that he could use its united force whenever there was the least outbreak against the arrangements that had been made. Another important statesman who at first believed in these congresses was Lord Castlereagh. It



Lord Byron (1789-1824).

Lord Palmerston (1784-1865).

AN ENGLISH HERO OF THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE,
AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER WHO HELPED TO FREE
THE GREEKS AND THE BELGIANS

British Foreign Minister. But his idea was quite different from Metternich's. Castlereagh thought that it would be a good thing for the progress of Europe for the representatives of states to meet and discuss affairs. When Britain realised that Metternich's plan was only to crush rebellions, wherever they were started, she gradually dropped attending the congresses, and after 1822 the plan of a united Europe came to an end.

At the congress held in 1818 it was decided to end the occupation of France by Allied troops. So France now joined with the other powers, and when there was a revolt in Spain in 1820, Metternich persuaded the French Government to use its army to put down the revolution,

This Spanish revolt was very important, because many of the Spanish colonies in South America took this opportunity to rebel against their mother country and to declare themselves independent. Metternich tried hard to persuade the powers of Europe to crush the Spanish colonies. But in 1822 Lord Castlereagh died, and he was succeeded as British Foreign Minister by George Canning, who refused, even more firmly than Castlereagh, to help Metternich any longer. Instead, he actually helped the Spanish colonies by opening up trade with them and sending British representatives to help this on. Then in 1823 the President of the United States declared that his country would fight against any European army that tried to help Spain to regain her colonies. From that time the Spanish colonies were free, and gradually a number of separate republics were set up in Central and South America.

THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

In 1820 and 1821 there were rebellions also in the south and north of Italy, but these were put down by Austria. In 1821 there was a revolt of Greece against the Turks. For several centuries the Greek nation had been crushed by Turkey. Their patience at last gave way and they started a war of independence. Now, Metternich and the monarchs of Europe did not quite know what to do. For they could not look upon the Sultan of Turkey as one of themselves, or upon the Greek people as a mob of rebels to be crushed for the benefit of the Sultan who, of course, was a Muhammadan. So for a time they let the Greeks fight their own battles. Many Englishmen were strongly in favour of helping the down-trodden Greeks, for they thought of all that Greece, in the days of her ancient

DAYS OF DEMOCRACY

glory, had given to the world. Some went to help the Greeks personally. Among these was the famous poet Lord Byron, who died during the siege of one of the Greek towns in 1824. Russia was now ready to help the Greeks with her arms, but Canning was afraid that the Russian power might become too great in the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, and he sent a British fleet there to prevent the Turks massacring the Greeks. At the same time, in 1827, he made a treaty with Russia and France which made certain the independence of the Greeks. Canning died in the same year, and so he did not live to see the result of his work. Fighting went on, but in 1829 Greece was declared independent, and in 1832 her first king was proclaimed. Russia got a good deal of land from the Turks as a result of her part in the war, and this had important results later on.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

Except in the case of Greece and the Spanish American colonies, the revolts of these years were not successful. But this failure did not stop the discontent, which went on until it burst out in a general revolution. Almost every country in Western and Central Europe was affected in some way by the revolution of 1830, which began in France. Louis XVIII was a free and easy sort of king and the French people put up with him because he had been content to let things slide. But he died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles X, who was quite a different man. He was a tyrannical ruler, who did all he could to deprive his people of the few rights they enjoyed. In July 1830 he issued a number of orders which the French people refused to obey. The people of Paris revolted, and there was terrible fighting in the street

EUROPE IN REVOLT

between them and the royal troops. After three days of bloodshed, the King gave in and abdicated. Then the French people chose as their King a popular prince belonging to another branch of the royal family. This was Louis Philippe, who reigned for the next eighteen years. Under this arrangement the French gained a good many more rights than they had before, although, as you will read, after a time they revolted once more.

The July Revolution of 1830, as this French revolt was called, gave the signal to the other discontented nations to rebel. Among these were the Belgians, who had never been satisfied with their union with Holland. Seeing their opportunity now, the people of Brussels, the Belgian capital, revolted and set up barricades in the streets. When the King of the Netherlands showed his determination to crush the Belgians, they declared themselves independent. As Metternich was busy with revolts in Austria and Germany, and the Czar of Russia with a rebellion of the Poles, there was nobody to help the Dutch King. Then the British Government stepped in to help the Belgians, by calling a meeting in London of representatives of all the great states of Europe. The British Foreign Minister at the time, Lord Palmerston, arranged matters so that these representatives agreed to a treaty making Belgium a free and independent state, which was never to be interfered with by others. In this way Belgium became in 1831 a separate kingdom, and a certain German prince became King as Leopold I.

In Italy the rebellion following the July Revolution in France was serious, especially in the centre, where the people revolted against the government of the Pope. But Metternich sent an Austrian army from the north, and the Pope's power was restored. In Austria

and Germany also Metternich gained the victory. The Czar crushed the rising of Poland with bitter cruelty, and the Poles were deprived of even the few rights they had gained in 1815. So, except in France and Belgium, it looked as though nothing had been gained by the Revolution of 1830.

After the risings, Metternich's power seemed to be as great as ever in Central Europe and Italy. But really Europe was not what it had been. The Treaties of 1815 had been altered by the creation of a separate Kingdom of Belgium. Metternich could no longer look for the support of France, as he had under Louis XVIII and Charles X. Also Britain had deserted him, and so he could not keep up his plan of holding congresses to control Europe. It is true that the rebels had been put down in Italy, in Austria and in Germany. But the discontent did not end. It went on during the next few years until it broke out again much more fiercely, as you will read in a later chapter.

SUMMARY

The plan of holding congresses among the chief statesmen of Europe after 1815 broke down in 1822 when Britain stopped attending. In 1823 the President of the United States and George Canning supported the South American colonies in their revolt from Spain. The Greeks revolted from Turkey in 1821, and gained their independence in 1829. In 1830 a revolution in France dethroned Charles X, who was succeeded by Louis Philippe. Belgium revolted against the King of the Netherlands, and became a separate kingdom in 1831. There were revolts in other Continental countries—e.g. Italy—in 1830, but they were not successful.

Class in sections gather more information respectively about Metetrach, Castlereagh, Canning and Louis Philippe. Compare notes.

2 Study some episode connected with one of the following the Greek War of Independence, the revolt of the South American colonies, the French Revolution of 1830, the making of the Kingdom of Belgium, and deliver a short lecture on it to the class.

3 Debate whether the system of the congresses of the statesmen of Europe should go on after 1822 (See E. Levett's *Europe since Napoleon* for all three questions)

EXERCISES

1 Put in a map of Europe the chief areas concerned in the revolts up to 1830

2 Why did Lord Byron help the Greeks against the Turks?

3 Write a short account of the overthrow of Charles X and the accession of Louis Philippe (See book mentioned above.)

4 Explain the part played either by George Canning or by Lord Palmerston in the events of these years.

Chapter 8

- REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN -

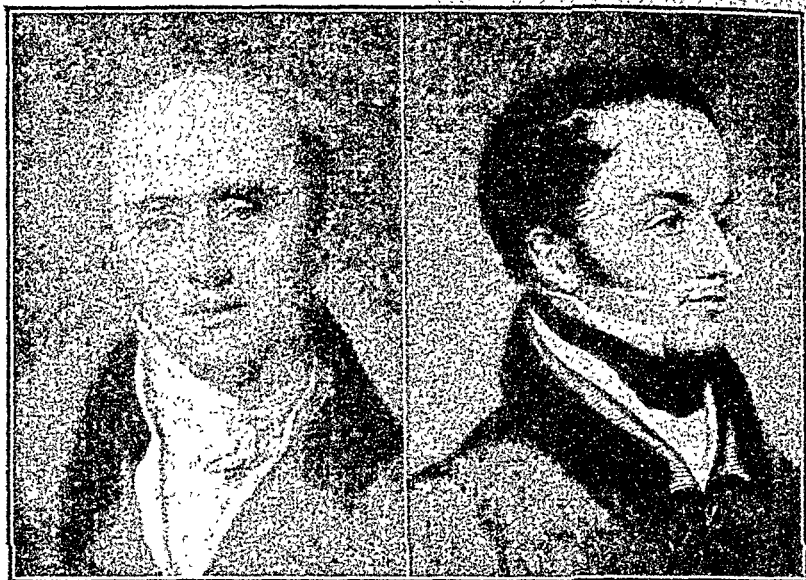
THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

GREAT BRITAIN also had her troubles round about the year 1830. But instead of the revolution and bloodshed which took place in Continental countries, another way of settling the difficulties was found. You will remember reading in Chapter 4 how the Younger Pitt introduced various reforms, and how his work in this direction was stopped by the outbreak of the French Revolution. You will remember also that after the war nothing was done by the Government to take up again this work of reform. You read in Chapter 6 how the ministers tried to crush the discontent of the people which was really due to their distress and not to their desire to revolt. These ministers belonged to the Tory Party, which at that time believed that things should be left as they were and that it would be dangerous to give the people any new rights.

This Cabinet, of which Lord Liverpool was the Prime Minister, had been in power since 1812. But between 1821 and 1823 some younger men with freer ideas joined the Cabinet. One of these was George Canning, of whom you read in the last chapter. He brought with him several new ideas about the way to deal with foreign affairs. Another was Robert Peel, who, as Home Secretary, made the law much less cruel by cutting down the long list of crimes which were punishable by death. A third was William Huskisson, who, as President of the Board of Trade, improved British trade and industry by removing

the taxes on certain imported raw materials, and so enabled manufacturers to sell finished articles much more cheaply. Also in 1824 a law was passed allowing working-men to form themselves into unions under certain restrictions. But the reforms carried out by these three men were very slight, and left the two most important ones untouched. These concerned religious rights and Parliament.

In 1828 the Duke of Wellington, who, since the war, had given up being a soldier and had turned statesman, became Prime Minister. Canning had died, but Peel and Huskisson were both members of the Cabinet. The Duke of Wellington was, of course, in the House of Lords, but it was in the House of Commons that the real struggle for reform went on. In 1828 the Commons proposed that two Acts of Parliament should be repealed or abolished. These said that those who did not belong to the Church of England should not be allowed to hold any position in the Government. These Acts had been passed in the reign of Charles II, but since the time of George I the Whigs had passed a measure every year freeing the Nonconformists from punishment for breaking these laws. So the laws were not really obeyed any longer, and it was absurd that they should still exist. Still, Wellington, being a very strong Tory, did not wish to change the law. But in the end he gave way, and these laws were repealed. In 1829 a still more important law was proposed. This was to give freedom to sit in Parliament to Roman Catholics. You will remember that Pitt wished to pass this law after the Union with Ireland in 1800, but nothing was done then. Now the Roman Catholics in both England and Ireland demanded their freedom. Again Wellington did not agree, but the pressure was so strong that he gave way once more and the Catholic Emancipation Act was



Earl Grey (1764-1845).

Lord John Russell (1792-1878).

TWO WHIG MINISTERS WHO CARRIED THE GREAT REFORM ACT OF 1832.

passed. So at last Roman Catholics throughout the United Kingdom enjoyed the same rights as Protestants. The most important result of this Act was that about fifty Irish Roman Catholics came to the House of Commons. They demanded that the Union of Ireland with Great Britain should be brought to an end, and so began the great movement called Home Rule, about which you will read more later on.

THE REFORM ACT OF 1832

These two laws concerning religion led to a loud demand for reforming Parliament. There was no hope that Wellington would carry out this reform. So it was lucky that events led to his resignation. In 1830

George IV died, and was succeeded by his brother, William IV, who was a very different sort of man, and proved to be a good king during a very difficult time. Then came the July Revolution in France, and the revolts in the other countries which were described in the last chapter. In the midst of this there was a General Election in Britain, and the Whigs were returned to power. Wellington resigned, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Earl Grey. In Grey's Cabinet there were some most important men, including Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, about whom you will read a good deal more later on.

In 1831 Lord John Russell in the House of Commons brought in a Bill to reform Parliament. Now, this reform was necessary, for there had been very little change in the method of electing Members of Parliament from the time when Parliament in England first began. In spite of all the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, nothing had been done to give representation to the new towns which had grown so rapidly. There were two kinds of Members of Parliament, those elected by the towns or boroughs, and those elected by the counties or country parts. Some of these boroughs had been great and flourishing in earlier times, but now many of them had hardly any inhabitants at all. They were called "rotten boroughs," because their population had decayed. Each of these boroughs had two members, and so it often happened that a town with only a few inhabitants had two representatives, while great towns like Birmingham and Manchester, with thousands of inhabitants, had none at all. The same thing was true of the counties. The tiny county of Rutlandshire had two members, just like the enormous county of Yorkshire. The members were elected quite differently from those of to-day. A freeholder



ELECTION METHODS BEFORE 1832.

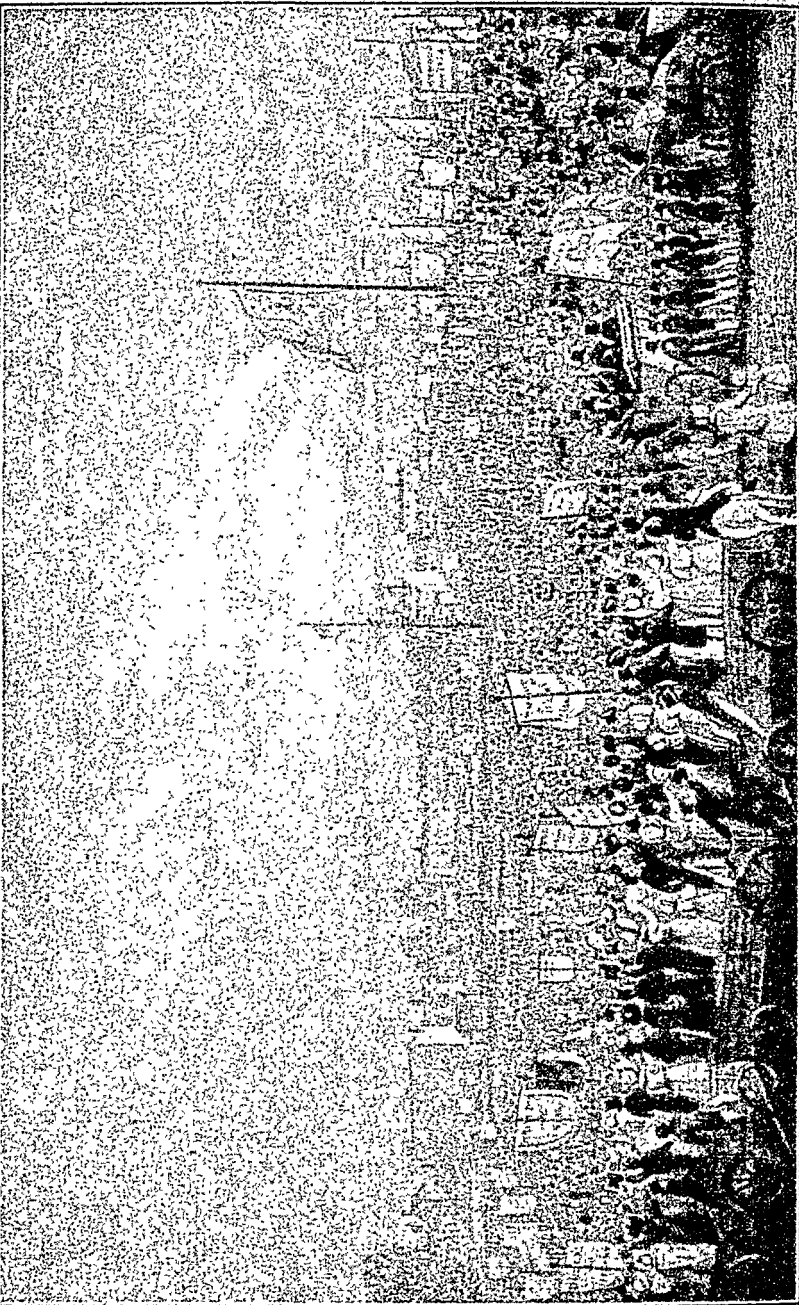
A cartoon showing the way votes were given in the early days of Democracy.

in a county often sold his vote to the candidate who would pay him most for it. Voting was not secret, as it is now, and so the candidate could easily find out how a man voted.

In the towns the strangest things went on during a General Election. In some boroughs rich men could buy seats in Parliament, in others bodies of important townsmen would select a representative without even bothering about an election. The total number of people allowed by law to vote was less than half a million. The total number of people who actually did vote was perhaps only a few thousand in the whole land. Although the population had risen to about thirty millions, the number of voters was the same as it had been when the population was only five millions.

The Reform Bill of 1831, then, was very much needed to put these matters right. But the Bill was not easy to pass. When it had finally passed the House of Commons, the House of Lords refused to pass it. Riots at once broke out all over the country in favour of it. These riots showed the ministers that they would have the people on their side, so in the end they pressed the Lords to pass it. In 1832 the Lords gave way and the Bill became law.

This Act is known as the Reform Act of 1832. It gave the vote to all those men in country places who held land of a certain value, even if they only paid a rent for it and did not own it themselves. In the towns all those who owned or rented a house or building at £10 a year or more also gained the vote. This only added about a quarter of a million men to the number allowed to vote. But it meant that the new capitalists and factory owners gained the vote, though the ordinary workmen in the towns and farm labourers in the country had to wait many years before they were given the same right. Besides adding to the



THE GREAT REFORM BILL 1832

A huge meeting held in Birmingham, in May 1832, in favour of passing the Reform Bill. Notice the dress and the vehicles of the period.

number of voters, the Reform Act of 1832 took away the representatives from certain "rotten boroughs" and gave them to the new towns which had grown up. Towns with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants lost both their members, and towns with fewer than 4,000 lost one, while towns like Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield gained two members. Also the larger counties gained extra seats. These changes applied to Scotland and Ireland, as well as to England.

NEW LAWS FOLLOWING THE REFORM ACT

In this way Britain got over the difficult period round about the year 1830 by means of reform while many Continental countries had to deal with attempted revolutions. The good results of this change in Britain were soon seen. The reformed Parliament passed several good new laws which would never have been passed by the old Parliament before the Reform Act. The first of these new laws, passed in 1833, concerned education. By this an annual grant of money was to be made from the taxes to help the education of the people. In the same year a law was passed abolishing slavery throughout the British Empire. In 1833 also another important Act dealt with the conditions of labour in factories, and regulated the hours that children were allowed to work in them. In the following year a new Poor Law was passed to stop some of the bad conditions that existed in connection with the granting of relief to the poor and needy. The new law established workhouses and made several parishes join together to build them. These collections of parishes were called "Unions," a name often given, wrongly, to the workhouse. In 1834 there was a Tory Government for a time, but it was soon replaced by the Whigs, who took up again

the work of reform. In 1835 Parliament passed another Act establishing a mayor and corporation elected by the people in each of the most important towns. Already in 1829 Robert Peel had introduced the new Police Force. This is why a policeman is sometimes called a "Bobby" or a "Peeler." A few years later this new system was extended by the establishment of the police outside London. These changes caused the towns to be much better governed than they had ever been before.

But it was not only through Parliament that changes came about at this time. The poverty and distress following the Napoleonic War made the Church of England fearful that it would lose its hold on the people. So in 1833 a number of churchmen in Oxford started a movement to make the Church stronger. This was called the Oxford Movement. They published little books called *Tracts for the Times*. The movement at first was very like that started by John Wesley in the century before. But whereas the Wesleyan movement ended by setting up a separate Church, known as the Methodist Church, the Oxford Movement helped the Church of England itself, and brought about a much greater interest in the Church by thousands of people who had not troubled about it for many years.

You will see from all this what great changes had been brought about in Britain during the short space of five years—first by the Reform Act itself and then as a result of that Act. By these laws many people gained rights and privileges that they had not had before. The great movement towards democracy, or government by the people, had thus taken a big step forward. But there was much more to do, and the movement continued, as you will see in the following chapters.

SUMMARY

After 1821 younger men, such as Canning and Peel, became members of the Tory Cabinet. In 1828 and 1829 the laws denying rights to Nonconformists and Roman Catholics were repealed. In 1830 the Whigs came into power, and in 1831 introduced the Reform Bill to give the people better representation in Parliament. After a long struggle the Bill became law in 1832. Between 1833 and 1835 the reformed Parliament carried out further reforms connected with education, slavery, conditions of employment in factories and the government of towns. In 1833 the Oxford Movement in the Church of England began.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in two sections prepare respectively details of parliamentary system before and after 1832. (I. W. Tuckner's *A Hundred Years Ago will help*.)
2. Make a community map showing areas represented before and after 1832.
3. Debate one of the measures carried by the reformed Parliament (e.g. slavery, education, factories, government of towns).
4. Class might have read to it one of Cobbett's *Rural Rides* dealing with Reform, and Macaulay's account of the passing of the Bill in the Commons.

EXERCISES

1. Gather details of the history of representation in Parliament of your own town or neighbourhood.
2. Write an account of the Reform Bill (a) from the point of view of an inhabitant of a "rotten borough," (b) from that of an inhabitant of a manufacturing town not represented before 1832.
3. What new rights were gained by the people as a result of the Reform Act of 1832?
4. Study the picture on p. 82 and write about some feature in it that specially strikes you.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

THE OPENING OF VICTORIA'S REIGN

IN 1837 William IV died, and he was succeeded by Queen Victoria, a young girl of eighteen years, the daughter of William IV's brother, the Duke of Kent, who had died some years before. Queen Victoria reigned until 1901—sixty-four years. This is the longest reign in British history, and there were more changes in it than in any other reign. Queen Victoria was a woman who took her duties as Queen very seriously, and she remained until the end of her life greatly interested in all public affairs. We always think of this long period of more than half a century in connection with the Queen, and it is often called the Victorian Age, though, of course, the great things that happened at that time would have happened no matter who had been on the throne. For by this time government was really in the hands of Parliament and of the chief ministers, or Cabinet, whose business it is to advise the monarch how to act. All the same, the fact that Victoria was on the throne all through these years is important. The Queen herself led a life which was a great example to the people she ruled, and this example did a great deal to improve manners and customs which, as you have read, were bad and brutal up to the early years of the nineteenth century.

There were several difficulties in the early days of the reign. There was trouble with the Irish Members of

Parliament who wanted Ireland to have its independence once again. There was a rebellion in Canada in 1837, which led to a new Act for the government of that colony in 1840. There was also much discontent in England, where the working classes started a movement for the further reform of Parliament. They had not gained what they hoped for from the Reform Act of 1832, and so they banded themselves together and issued what they called the Charter. This Charter said, besides other things, that every man, whatever his station, should have a vote and that voting should be secret or by ballot. This Chartist Movement, as it was called, started in 1837 and went on until 1848. Then it dwindled away and nothing more was heard of it. Since then all the points that the Chartists asked for have become law, except one demanding that a new Parliament should be elected every year, which would not be a good thing. During the eleven years of the Chartist Movement there was a good deal of riotous conduct in various parts of the country, and it was because of this that the Chartists lost the support of peace-loving citizens, and so the movement came to an end.

ROBERT PEEL AS PRIME MINISTER

In 1841 Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister as head of the Tory Party. These Tories were not like those before the Reform Act of 1832, who had met all the demands for reform with force. Peel had always been more ready to grant reforms than some of the older members of his party, like the Duke of Wellington, and now, to show how different the new party of Tories was from the old, they changed their name to Conservatives. A Conservative is one who wishes to keep or preserve or "conserve" things as they are. But this does not mean that Peel was



Queen Victoria (1837-1901).

Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850).

THE QUEEN AS A YOUNG WOMAN AND ONE OF HER EARLY PRIME MINISTERS.

not ready to make any changes at all. He showed himself ready to reform some things that badly needed it. In 1842 he introduced a Bill to prohibit women and children working in the mines. In 1844 he shortened the hour of labour of children in factories, and appointed inspectors to see that conditions in factories were kept safe and sanitary.

It was specially in connection with finance or money matters that Peel did most good. There were still hundred and hundreds of articles on which a duty was charged when they were imported. Peel took 750 articles of everyday use, such as eggs and timber, off the list to be taxed. This of course, meant a loss in money to the Government, and the loss was made good by imposing an income-tax, which



Richard Cobden (1804-1865)

John Bright (1811-1883)

THE FOUNDERS OF THE ANTICORN LAW LEAGUE WHICH
PLAYED SUCH AN IMPORTANT PART IN BRINGING ABOUT
THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

had first been used by Pitt during the French war, after which it had been abolished. When Peel reintroduced the income tax he promised to abolish it later on. But he never did, nor have any of his successors, and the income tax still exists and is now much larger than it ever was before.

This removal of the taxes on certain imported articles had been going on steadily for some years. Up to the eighteenth century most people believed that imports ought to be stopped as much as possible and exports encouraged. The idea was to get as much gold as possible into the country, and it was thought that, if a country had many imports, they had to be paid for by gold, and that this meant a loss of precious metal. In this way there grew up

all sorts of restrictions on trade. It was these restrictions on trade that played such an important part in the struggle for American Independence about which you read in Book II.

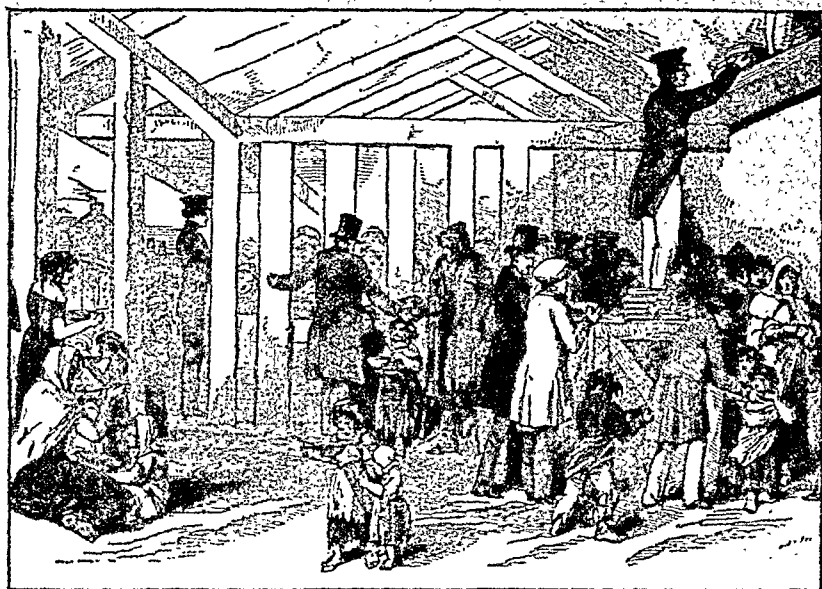
But while that war was going on, namely in 1776, a famous Scottish professor, named Adam Smith, published a book called *The Wealth of Nations*. In this he said that a government's first thought should be about the well-being of the people. If the taxes on imported goods were removed, he said, the state would be better off, because every individual would look after his own interests, become richer and so enrich the country as a whole. Adam Smith said that, as food was the first thing a man must think about, taxes on food ought to be removed.

The Younger Pitt studied *The Wealth of Nations* very carefully, and he removed the tax on a good many articles, and William Huskisson and Peel carried on his work in this direction. But the Industrial Revolution had made all that Adam Smith had said about taxes on food all the more true. Britain had now become a great manufacturing country instead of an agricultural land. The country did not produce enough foodstuffs to feed its own people. The population had greatly increased, and most of the people were employed in manufacturing goods, many of which were sold abroad in countries where foodstuffs could be bought much more cheaply than they could be produced in Britain. But while many food taxes remained, food from abroad was bound to be dear. Yet, instead of removing the taxes on food, the Government, as you will remember, had in 1815 actually put a new tax on foreign corn in order that no one should buy foreign corn until corn produced at home had reached a very

By the time Peel had become Prime Minister the corn tax had made food so dear that many working people were on the verge of starvation. But Peel was the leader of a party of men many of whom were landowners. There were many also, it is true, who belonged to the great new middle class of capitalists. Many of these had joined the party because of their fear of the Chartists. But the landowners were the people who profited by the Corn Laws, and it was very hard for Peel to remove the Corn Laws without breaking up his party. So he contented himself with removing the tax on many imports, but not that on corn.

PEEL ABOLISHES THE CORN LAWS

Then two things made him change his mind. The first was the rapid growth of a society called the Anti-Corn Law League. Two famous speakers, named Richard Cobden and John Bright, had started this league in Manchester in 1838, and by 1845 the movement had grown enormously. Both Cobden and Bright had become Members of Parliament and they carried their arguments to the House of Commons. So a large number of powerful people were crying out for the abolition of the Corn Laws. Still Peel did not act. Then the second thing happened. This was a terrible potato famine in Ireland in 1845, following a very bad harvest in England. Half the Irish people depended for their existence on potatoes. Thousands died from starvation, and the Government had to set up public soup kitchens to feed the people who were dying of hunger and diseases which are the result of underfeeding. The horrors of the Irish famine made Peel see that the free importation of corn was the only way to prevent such terrible things happening again. So he followed the advice



FAMINE IN IRELAND.

The central public soup depôt in Cork during the Irish famine of 1845. Notice the wretched condition of the people.

of Cobden and Bright and the other opponents of the Corn Laws, and introduced a Bill in 1846 to abolish them and allow corn to be imported free. At once the landowning members of his party called him a traitor and turned against him, but the Bill was passed with the help of the Whigs, who were in favour of it. So the taxes on food were abolished, and by 1849 all the restrictions on trade were removed. In this way Free Trade came into existence in Britain. The tax remained on a few articles, but only in order to bring in a certain amount of money to help the expenses of government.

This repeal of the Corn Laws was a wonderfully courageous act on the part of Sir Robert Peel. He did it because he believed it was right, but he suffered badly



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THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS 1846

A cartoon from *Punch* showing Peel as a baker. The date at the bottom, January 12 1846, was that of the opening of Parliament of that year when Peel announced in Parliament his intention to do away with the Corn Laws and so make bread cheaper. What does the notice about Russell mean?

for it. In 1846 the rebels in his party again voted against him over a matter concerning Ireland, and this time the Whigs voted against him too, and so he resigned. The Conservative Party then broke into two. Those who stood by Peel were known as Peelites. As you will see, these were afterwards led by a great man named Gladstone, and became the Liberal Party. Peel's opponents were known as Protectionists, because they believed in the protection of the British farmer. These were led by another great man named Disraeli, and became a new Conservative Party. But Peel never again became Prime Minister, and it was nearly thirty years before the Conservative Party again held a real majority in the House of Commons. On Peel's resignation in 1846 a new Whig Ministry was formed under Lord John Russell, and this Government had to deal with great difficulties abroad, as you will now see.

SUMMARY

Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, when there were troubles in Ireland and Canada, and the Chartist Movement (1837-48) began in England. In 1838 the Anti-Corn Law League was founded, and between 1841 and 1845 Peel carried out a number of reforms connected with taxation. In 1846, after the terrible Irish famine of 1845, Peel repealed the Corn Laws, and during the next three years Free Trade was established in Britain. The repeal of the Corn Laws broke the Conservative Party into two—Peelites and Protectionists—and Peel was forced to resign in 1846, being replaced by the Whigs under Lord John Russell.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in two sections prepare respectively details of the rights demanded by the Chartists and those that we enjoy to-day. (G. Guest's *Age of Social Reform* will help you.)

- 2 Find out more about Peel, Cobden or Bright, and give a short lecture from your notes to the class.
- 3 Debate on repeal of the Corn Laws between Peelites and Protectionists.

EXERCISES

1. Prepare notes on the Irish famine of 1845.
2. Write a brief sketch of the character and achievements of Sir Robert Peel
3. Would you have followed Gladstone or Disraeli in 1846?
4. Study the picture on p. 92 and write a short account of the events which it illustrates.

THE CONTINENTAL REVOLUTIONS OF - 1848 AND THEIR RESULTS -

THE REFORMERS AFTER 1830

WHILE the important changes and reforms of which you have read in the last two chapters were taking place in Britain, great discontent continued in the other countries of Western Europe. These countries were now beginning to suffer from industrial changes like those which had occurred earlier in Britain. These changes caused much hardship and misery among the working people, just as they did in our own country. They also led, as in Britain, to an outcry for reforms and new rights. In Britain some things, at any rate, had been put right by the Reform Act of 1832 and the laws which followed. But on the Continent the revolts of 1830 only led to further harshness on the part of most governments. Even in France, where the revolt had been successful, the people began to grow tired of their new king, Louis-Philippe, and wanted a change.

In Germany and Italy there was a third thing which caused discontent, besides the misery of the workpeople and the desire for new rights in Parliament. This was the desire, which many men had, to make their country a united state with one government over the whole, instead of being broken up, as Germany and Italy were, into a number of small ones. The Germans were a nation; the Italians were a nation. Then why should they not govern themselves as a nation? This was the question that many Germans and many Italians asked. They



Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872)

Louis Kossuth (1802-1894)

TWO LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 THE FIRST IN ITALY THE SECOND IN HUNGARY

thought that, once they got their one national government, they would get their reforms and rights as well. But there were other Germans and Italians who thought they would get reforms more quickly through their own little states. Besides, some of the states were jealous of others, and this made them fear for their own rights if one large state were formed.

In Germany the difficulties in the way of union were very great. Austria did not want a united Germany at all, because many of the lands she governed were not German, as they were outside Germany altogether. One of these lands was Hungary. A number of true Hungarians, or Magyars, started a movement, led by a great patriot named Louis Kossuth, to make Hungary free.

They wanted Hungary to be separated entirely from Austria and to have a government of her own. So there were reformers in the German Confederation striving for different things, and this soon led to terrible disasters for them, as you will see.

There were similar problems in Italy. Here again several reformers wanted their own little state reformed. But there were others who wanted Italy to become a united state, with one government instead of seven different ones. The leader of this movement was a very great man named Joseph Mazzini. He was born in Genoa in 1805. He was a lawyer by profession, but after the failure of the revolt of 1830 he founded a secret society called "Young Italy." His hope was that this society would spread outside Italy, and grow in each country, where all young patriots would join and work for the betterment of their country and the world. But Mazzini had to work in secret and to make his arrangements as a conspirator. From 1830 he was constantly aiming at the overthrow of the tyrannical governments of Italy, but he had to suffer great hardships, imprisonment and exile in the pursuit of these plans. He never gained sufficient followers to make his conspiracies quite successful, and in the end Italy gained her freedom by other means, as you will read. All the same, Mazzini's great patriotism and example played an important part in laying the foundations on which this freedom was built up.

But there was one thing that all the Italian patriots and reformers were united in, and that was their hatred of Austria. The Austrian Government ruled two provinces in the north of Italy called Lombardy and Venetia. The population was almost entirely Italian, and the Austrian rule was very harsh indeed. It was only Austrian might

which kept the inhabitants of these provinces in subjection, and if anything ever happened to weaken the Austrian power there was certain to be trouble in Northern Italy. To the west of Lombardy was the most important state in Italy at this time. This was the kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia, as it was called after the Mediterranean island which belonged to it. This kingdom and its king, Charles Albert, played a very important part in the events which resulted from all these discontents.

THE REVOLUTION BREAKS OUT

It was in the year 1848 that the storm burst all over Europe. In this year almost every country in Europe revolted against its rulers. It was a much bigger affair than the outbreak of 1830 which was described in Chapter 6, and it was much more important in its results. It was in the extreme south of Italy that the first signs of the storm appeared. Naples on the mainland and the island of Sicily to the south formed one kingdom called Naples or the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Here there ruled a king belonging to a branch of the Bourbon family, which had formerly ruled in France and still ruled in Spain. He was a horrible tyrant whom the Sicilians hated. After several attempts to gain their freedom, they broke out in rebellion in January 1848, and tried to force the King to grant them the right to govern themselves. He refused to do this, but instead granted a full set of rights to the people of his kingdom as a whole. Such a full set of rights is called a constitution. As news of this spread through Italy, the other Italian monarchs granted constitutions to their people also. The chief constitution was the one granted by Charles Albert of Sardinia. This, among other things, gave certain of the ordinary people the power to

vote and sit in Parliament, a thing unheard of in Italy before. This constitution was of very great importance in after-years, because it became the constitution for the whole of Italy when it was united in one state.

While this was going on in Italy, there suddenly broke out, in February, 1848, a new revolution in France. This was due to two causes. First, a great party of workers had grown up in France. These men demanded special rights for themselves, saying that if there was no work for them, the Government ought to make work for them. Secondly, a body of reformers demanded that Louis Philippe should grant the right to vote to a large number of men. When the King refused, riots broke out in Paris, and Louis, instead of trying to put the rioters down, fled from Paris in disguise and then abdicated. This left France without a Government. The temporary Government which was set up had to give rights to the workmen, but later in the year they broke out again in revolt, and they were put down with much bloodshed. After this, at the end of 1848, there was an election for a President of the French Republic. Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected by a large majority, and so a member of the Bonaparte family ruled France once more, with what results you will read later on.

The news of the February Revolution in France spread like wildfire throughout Europe, and at once revolutions broke out in Austria and Hungary, in the German states including Prussia, and in the Austrian provinces of Italy. The Hungarians, led by Kossuth, declared themselves free from Austria, and the people of Vienna revolted against the Government of Prince Metternich, who fled to England. This statesman had been the chief minister of Austria for forty years, and had played a most important part in



THE FLIGHT OF KING LOUIS PHILIPPE 1848

A drawing made at the time showing how the French king fled from Paris with his family in a closed carriage during the Revolution of 1848. He settled in England where he died two years later.

the affairs of the whole of Europe during that time. His method of government had had a good deal to do with the discontent of the peoples of Europe and with their rising now. So his fall made all the reformers of Europe rejoice, for it seemed to bring to an end the unhappy days of tyranny, and to bring in a new dawn of freedom. Later in the year the Austrian Emperor abdicated and left the throne to his nephew, Francis Joseph, who was only eighteen years old. This Emperor managed to hold on to his throne, and kept it until his death in 1916, in the middle of the Great War.

When the Italians of Lombardy and Venetia realised that the Austrian Government had its hands full with

rebellions nearer home, they themselves revolted against Austria. Charles Albert of Sardinia now joined his fellow-Italians of the Austrian provinces. Thousands of volunteers from the south joined in. This seemed to be the beginning of a war which would free Italy of the Austrian tyranny altogether. But the Pope and the King of Naples both refused to support the movement of the Italian nation as a whole, and recalled the soldiers who had joined the northern army. Shortly afterwards the Italians were defeated by the Austrian army, and a truce was signed, though the war was not at an end.

Meanwhile, various German states revolted, and for a time they all worked together. They called a general German Parliament at Frankfort, but it did not work well. It was soon seen that not all Germans were as yet ready to make Germany a united state. Then the Austrian Government began to recover, and when the King of Sardinia opened the war again in 1849 he was finally defeated. He then abdicated, leaving his throne to his son, Victor Emmanuel, who afterwards proved himself a very fine king. The Austrians soon regained their old position in North Italy, and now they turned to crush the Hungarians. Helped by the Czar of Russia, they drove out the Hungarian patriots with great cruelty, and order was restored. Hungary was joined to Austria once more, and Austria seemed as strong as ever.

THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTIONS

Austria now made up her mind to make herself powerful again in Germany. The Parliament that the Germans had called had offered the crown of united Germany to the King of Prussia in 1849. But he refused it. The Austrian Government, now strong again, brought this German

Parliament to an end, and by the year 1850 Germany returned to the state in which she had been in 1815. You will read later on how Germany was at last united by quite different methods from those tried in the Revolution of 1848.

In Italy Austria had regained her power in the north, but not in the rest of the country. The Pope had been driven out of Rome towards the end of 1848, and a Republic was established there with three men at the head of the Government, one of whom was Mazzini. But Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, in 1849 decided to restore the Pope. A French army expelled the Republican Government and restored the Pope. This French army remained in Rome for the next twenty years. So Austria's power in Italy was not really so strong as it had been before. But the princes of Italy were once more safely on their thrones. All the rights that they had granted to their people early in 1848 were abolished, except in the case of Sardinia. Here the new king, Victor Emmanuel, refused to deprive the people of their new rights, in spite of the efforts of Austria to force him to abolish them. He stood by his people in their darkest hour. You will see later on how he was rewarded for his courage.

The end of the Revolution of 1848 in France was very strange. It began by overthrowing King Louis Philippe and setting up a republic. Within four years France found herself with an Emperor once more. This is how it happened. The French people had always regarded Napoleon Bonaparte as a hero, and they kept tender memories of him during his exile. All sorts of legends grew up about him, of how good he had been to his people and what glory he had brought to his country. There

was hardly a cottage in France which had not a portrait of the great Emperor, and many stories were told of the exploits of the "Little Corporal," as he was called. Louis Napoleon, his nephew, was for many years, exiled from France, and kept this legend going by his writings. In 1840 Napoleon's bones were brought back from St. Helena, and buried in Paris with a great monument above them.

After the dull reigns of Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis Philippe, the French people were anxious for glory again and they thought they would get it with another Napoleon ruling them. When Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic in 1848, it was agreed that the period of his power should be only four years. So at the end of 1851, when his four years were drawing to a close, Louis Napoleon followed the example of his uncle in 1799 when he overthrew the Directory. By a similar sudden stroke, Louis Napoleon overthrew his opponents in the Government, and made himself master. He then got the people to vote in favour of giving him the power to change the arrangements made at the time of his election. When he had done this he was in a position to do as he liked, and in December, 1852, he had himself proclaimed Emperor. He called himself Napoleon III, reckoning Napoleon's own son, who had never reigned and was now dead, as Napoleon II, as though the family had gone on ruling without a break. This was the beginning of the Second Empire in France. About the disaster which ended it you will read in Chapter 13.

You see from this story of the revolutions of 1848 that in most Continental countries the people were still striving for their rights. As a result of the revolutions they did not gain as much as the people of Britain had gained as a result of the Reform Act of 1832 and the laws which

followed. The rebels on the Continent had fought for their national rights and government by the people. But democracy was still a long way off, even as it was in Britain, and you will see that much was to be done at home and abroad before the people gained the rights they enjoy to-day.

SUMMARY

Reformers on the Continent, such as Mazzini in Italy and Kossuth in Hungary, continued their demands after the failure of the revolts of 1830. In 1848 a revolution occurred in almost every country on the Continent. The Italian princes granted reforms. Louis Philippe was dethroned and a republic established in France. Metternich fled from Vienna, but the Austrian Government recovered and crushed the risings in Hungary and Italy. The Prussian revolt was put down, and Austria regained her power in Germany. Louis Napoleon was elected French President and restored the Pope in 1849. In 1851 he made himself supreme in France.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections prepare details respectively of the Revolution of 1848 in France, Italy and Austria. Compare notes.
2. Prepare notes for a lecture to the class on one of the heroes of the Revolution of 1848—e.g. Mazzini, Kossuth. (See A. R. H. Moncrieff's *Heroes of European History* and A. and D. Ponsonby's *Rebels and Reformers*.)
3. Debate whether France should become a republic in 1848.

EXERCISES

1. Study a map of Europe noting the areas affected by the revolutions of 1848.
2. Write down what you suppose to have been the impressions of Louis Philippe or Metternich on arriving in England after their flight in 1848.
3. Account for the success of Louis Napoleon in France in 1848.
4. Describe the event illustrated in the picture on p. 101.

TIME CHART, A.D. 1789—A.D. 1851
ON THIS CHART $\frac{1}{2}$ INCH REPRESENTS 10 YEARS

Date.	Events Overseas.	Date.	Events in British Isles.
		1783	William Pitt Prime Minister till 1801.
	Outbreak of French Revolution.	1780	
-1790-	New Constitution in France. France at war with Austria and Prussia. The "Reign of Terror" (till 1795). Execution of Robespierre. Rule of the Directory begins. Napoleon's Italian campaign. Battles of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown. Napoleon's Egyptian campaign. Napoleon overthrows Directory.	1790 1791 1792 1793 1794 1795 1796 1797 1798 1799	Burke's <i>Reflections on the French Revolution</i> Paine's <i>Rights of Man</i> . Britain at war with France. Pitt organises the war at home, and for alliances with the enemies of France.
-1800-	Treaty of Amiens. France again at war with Britain. Napoleon proclaimed Emperor. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz. "Continental System" established by Napoleon. Peninsular War begins.	1800 1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806 1807 1808	Act of Union with Ireland. Resignation of Pitt. Peace with France. Britain declares war again on France. Pitt returns as Prime Minister. Pitt forms a new alliance. Death of Pitt. "Orders in Council."
-1810-	Retreat from Moscow. Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations." Napoleon abdicates. Battle of Waterloo. Meetings of Representatives of Allies arranged by Metternich (till 1822).	1810 1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1819	Prince George becomes Regent. Lord Castlereagh Foreign Minister. Bad harvest in Britain. March of the "Blanketeers." Peterloo. The Six Acts.
-1820-	Greek War of Independence begins. U.S.A. supports American colonies of Spain in their revolt.	1820 1821 1822 1823	Cato Street Conspiracy. Death of George George Canning Foreign Minister.
	Greece made independent.	1828 1829	Repeal of Acts against Nonconformists. Rights given to Roman Catholics.
-1830-	Continental revolts. Independence of Belgium.	1830 1831 1832 1833 1834 1835	Whigs in power. Death of George IV. Reform Bill introduced. Reform Act passed. Slavery abolished. Oxford Movement begins. New Poor Law. New law for government of towns.
		1837 1838	Victoria succeeds. Chartist Movement begins. Anti-Corn Law League started.
-1840-		1841	Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister.
		1845 1846	Irish Famine. Repeal of Corn Laws. Fate of Peel.
	Continental Revolutions. Revolutions end.	1848 1849	Chartist Movement ends. Restrictions on trade removed.
-1850-	Austria triumphant in Germany and Italy. Louis Napoleon triumphant in France.	1850 1851	

LORD PALMERSTON, THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE INDIAN MUTINY

THE CAUSES OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

THE British people, of course, took no part in the tragic events on the Continent which we have just described, but the British Foreign Minister at that time, Lord Palmerston, had a good deal to do with the foreign governments concerned with the revolutions. His great aim was to prevent the French and Austrians fighting a war in Italy. This war did not happen, but at the end of the revolution in Italy both Austria and France had a footing there, Austria in the north and France in Rome. Palmerston helped King Victor Emmanuel in 1849 to stand out against Austria, when she tried to force him to abolish the rights that the people of Sardinia had gained. When Louis Napoleon made himself all powerful in France at the end of 1851, Palmerston secretly supported him because he feared that if there were another disturbance in France there would be further trouble in Italy and perhaps another war in Europe. Also when Russia came to the aid of Austria against the revolting Magyars, Palmerston showed his great fear of Russian power in the south-east of Europe.

Still, no one would have thought then that within a very short time after these events, Britain would find herself allied with France and Sardinia in a war against Russia. Yet it was so, for in 1854 the Crimean War broke out, with Britain, France and (later) Sardinia supporting Turkey against Russia. The Crimean War was so called because

It was fought mainly in the peninsula called the Crimea in the north of the Black Sea. Let us see how this war came about. Ever since the Ottoman Turks had captured Constantinople in 1453 they had been a great trouble to Europe. After they had conquered all the Balkan Peninsula and Hungary, they laid siege to Vienna in 1683. Luckily for Europe, Vienna was saved, and from that moment the wave of Turkish invasion turned back. After many fights at the end of the seventeenth century and the opening of the eighteenth, they were driven out of Hungary. Then Russia took a hand, and drove the Turks from the north coast of the Black Sea, which they had conquered earlier. So, before the end of the eighteenth century the Turks had gone back a long way, but they still held the Balkan countries, including the great city of Constantinople.

The declining power of Turkey and the rising power of Russia made great difficulties in the countries round about the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, and the problem these difficulties created came to be known as the Eastern Question. The Turks were the leaders of the Muhammadan faith, while the Balkan peoples whom they ruled belonged to the Greek Catholic or Orthodox Church. This Church had once been a part of the original Catholic Church, but had broken away from it long before the Turks arrived in Europe, and its centre was at Constantinople. When the Russians were converted to Christianity they joined this Church. By the end of the eighteenth century it became the ambition of Russia to reconquer Constantinople for Christianity and to become the protector of the Christian peoples of the Balkans crushed under the Turkish rule. Also the Russians belonged to an Eastern race called Slavs, and most of the Balkan peoples belonged to this race also.



For these reasons, then, it was natural that the Russians should wish to help these people, who afterwards called Russia their big Slav brother. But if Russia gained control of the Turkish lands in Europe, she would have a very strong position in the Eastern Mediterranean. France and Britain were specially interested in this corner of Europe, as was seen when Napoleon tried to conquer Egypt, and again when the Greeks revolted against the Turks in 1821 and onwards, for then Britain took a share in seeing that Greece gained her freedom, so that she should not gain it by the help of Russia alone.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, then, Turkey, though still holding all the Balkan countries except Greece, was very weak. Turkey was so weak, in fact, that the Czar of Russia, Nicholas I, called the Sultan the sick man of

Europe," and the Czar wanted to make arrangements to divide up Turkey's European property before his death took place. The Czar suggested to the British Government that three of the chief Balkan countries—Servia, Rumania and Bulgaria—should be freed from the Turks and placed under Russian control, while Britain could have Egypt, and the other powers could take other slices of Turkish territory. Britain refused to agree to this bargain, and then Russia had trouble with France. There the new Emperor, Napoleon III, was quite anxious to show his strength in order to make the French people think him a hero, like his uncle, the first Napoleon.

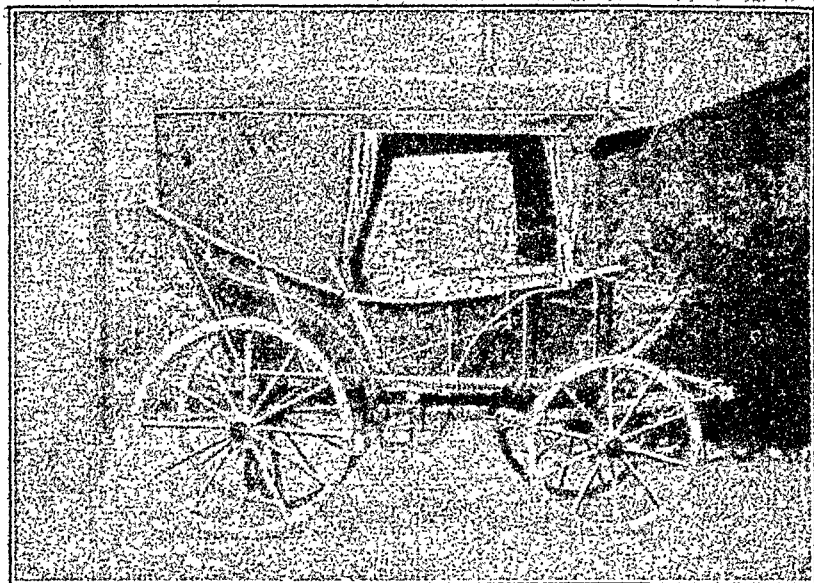
France had for many years claimed that she should protect the Christians in some of the Turkish lands. In 1853 the Czar of Russia demanded that the Sultan of Turkey should give him the right to protect the Christians in all the Turkish lands. The ambassadors of France and Britain at Constantinople persuaded the Sultan to refuse this Russian demand. When he did so, the Russians invaded Turkish territory in the Balkans. Without actually making war, the British and French formed an alliance and sent a fleet to Constantinople. In 1854 the Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish fleet in the Black Sea. If you look at the map you will see how dangerous the position was, for then the British and French ships attacked the Russian fleet and forced it to take refuge in the harbour of Sebastopol in the Crimean Peninsula. Then the Allies called upon the Czar to withdraw the army which had invaded the Balkan territory of the Turks, and when he refused to do this they declared war on Russia. In this way the Crimean War began.

THE COURSE AND RESULTS OF THE WAR

It may seem strange to us to find the British fighting on the side of a tyrannical and non-Christian power like Turkey. The Czar of Russia believed that the British people would never support such a war, and there were certainly some Englishmen who thought we ought not to fight. But the majority of Britons at that time really feared the growth of Russian power. During the last few years the Russians had been advancing through Central Asia towards the northern frontier of India. If they also gained control of the land round the Eastern Mediterranean the British Empire in India might be in great danger. So as the Czar would not give way on this question of the Balkans, most Englishmen felt that the war with Russia must be fought. But though British sea power was strong and active, the land forces were in a very poor state. Since Waterloo they had had no fighting to do except in distant parts of the world like China, Afghanistan and India, and the British were not really prepared for a war in Europe.

The British army that was sent to the Crimea joined the French, and the two were placed under a British commander who had fought in the Peninsular War and was very old. In September, 1854, the combined army landed in the south of the Crimea quite near the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol. The Allies defeated the Russians at the Battle of Alma, but failed to take Sebastopol, and there began a siege which was to last eleven months.

Still, the Battle of Alma had an important result for it forced the Russian army invading the Balkans to withdraw, as the soldiers had to be used as reinforcements in the Crimea. Twice before the end of 1854 the Russians tried to break the British and French siege, but failed. The first



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S NURSING CARRIAGE USED IN THE
CRIMEAN WAR.

Notice the brake. This was the first vehicle in England to be fitted with
a brake.

attempt was at the Battle of Balaclava, where the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade" took place. This showed how great was the courage of the British cavalry, but it also showed how badly the army as a whole was led, for it was madness to order the cavalry to charge artillery. The second attempt led to the Battle of Inkerman, which was fought in a mist. At this battle the Russians were driven back, and the siege of Sebastopol went on. All through a terrible winter in a strange land our soldiers, badly led, badly clothed and fed, died in thousands from cold, hunger and the most horrible diseases. Even the supplies which reached the Crimean coast often did not reach the troops. The British commander reported in January that out of

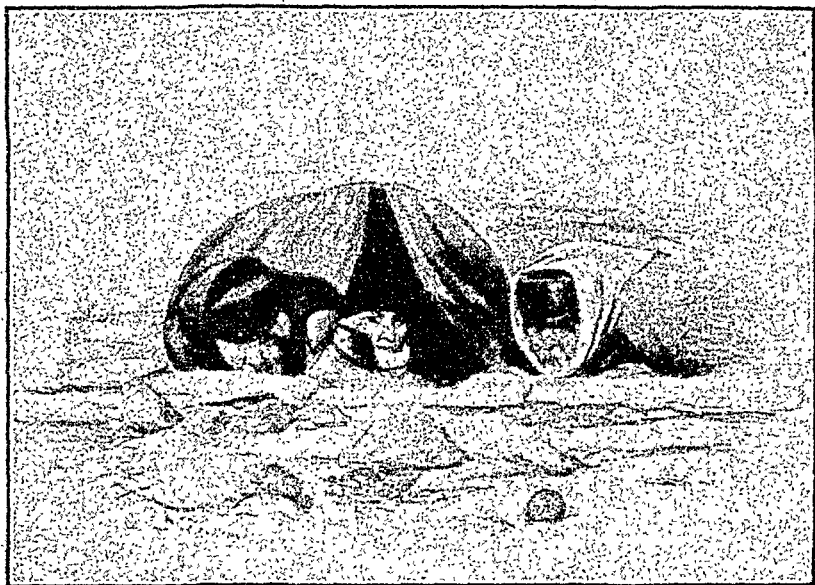


FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AND THE WOUNDED

A photograph of a piece of sculpture has recently to be seen on the wall of the Herbert Memorial Hospital, Shooter's Hill, Woolwich. Can you recognise Florence Nightingale?

24,000 men under him 13,000 were in hospital. But even the hospitals in the Crimea and at Constantinople were in a disgraceful condition.

It was then that Florence Nightingale and her nurses went out, and brought healing and comfort to the suffering soldiers, and cleanliness and proper service into the hospitals. This is one of the finest examples of women's courage and self-sacrifice in the history of the world. The British people were very angry when they realised how badly the Government had managed things in the Crimea. As a result of the great outcry early in 1855 Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister, resigned. Then a new Cabinet was formed, with Lord Palmerston as Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston was now seventy years old, but he was still full of energy. Because of his active work as Foreign Minister most people thought of him as the very man to put things right and to organise the war properly. A difference



BRITISH GENERALS IN THE CRIMEAN WAR, SEPTEMBER, 1855.

A French cartoon of 1855, with the title, "Head of the Army" or "How the British Generals stormed Sebastopol." The artist shows the Generals under cover behind the attacking forces, but the drawing also shows the conditions under which the leaders had to work.

was soon seen. Preparations were made for a big attack on Sebastopol. King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, to whom Palmerston had been such a good friend, joined the alliance and brought a fresh army into the field. Finally, in September, 1855, Sebastopol fell, mostly through the success of the French attack. The Russians burned the fortress down and left it.

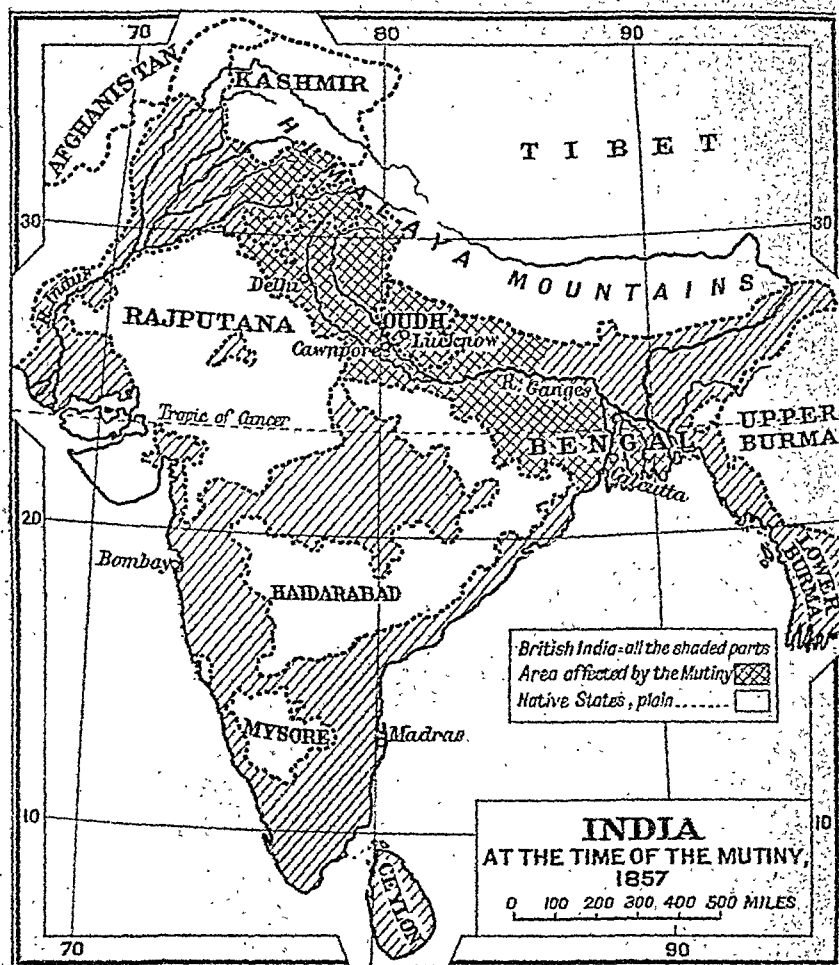
Now the French Emperor and the Russian Czar were quite ready for peace. Though Britain wished to go on fighting until the Russians were driven right out of the Crimea, she had to agree, and the Treaty of Paris ended the war in 1856. The most important clause in this treaty said that Russia was to keep no more warships in

the Black Sea. But this rule did not last many years, for Russia soon took an opportunity to break it. The war did nothing for the down-trodden peoples of the Balkans, and the evils of the Turkish rule went on, though the Sultan promised to make reforms. So the war did not end the trouble known as the Eastern Question. It only put off the settling of it. The war did not do France much good, but it gave Napoleon III the opportunity he wanted to show the French people that he was not afraid to take part in a foreign war. To the little state of Sardinia the war was useful, for the Sardinians fought side by side with the great powers of the West and found in Napoleon III an ally who was of great help to them later on.

As for Britain, she lost 20,000 soldiers and the National Debt rose by many millions of pounds. But the war forced the Government to get the army into proper working order again. It also made Lord Palmerston very popular, because he had ended the disgraceful conditions which existed at the battle front. In spite of his great age he remained Prime Minister, with only a short break, for the next nine years. These years were most important because of events which occurred in India, in America and on the Continent.

BRITAIN AND THE INDIAN MUTINY

It was a good thing that the British army had been improved, and that there was a strong man like Palmerston as Prime Minister, for as soon as the Crimean War was over, Britain had to fight against Persia and China in 1857. These wars were soon at an end. But much more serious trouble broke out in India in the same year. This was the Indian Mutiny. In India ever since Pitt's Act in 1784, British power had been advancing. The Last India



Company was still in existence, but it was really the British Government which controlled affairs in India. Through the first half of the nineteenth century the British conquered various native princes outside Bengal, Madras and Bombay, which were the three areas Britain governed after the Seven Years' War (1756-63). With some of these princes treaties were made, while others were dethroned and their

territory put under British rule. As these conquests went on, the British carried out reforms and introduced European inventions, like railways and the telegraph. This made some Indians very discontented, because they feared that it meant that their way of living would be entirely changed. For there were many fine features about Indian life, which had existed for hundreds of years before any Europeans arrived in India.

The army in India consisted of a number of British soldiers and a much larger number of native Indian troops, called Sepoys, trained and led by British officers. The Sepoys belonged to two great sections of the Indian people, Hindus and Muhammadans. By 1857 there were about 250 000 native troops and only about 40 000 British. Several things made the Indians feel that the British were not so strong as they had thought. The Governor General, or Viceroy, of India for the last eight years had taken over much land from the native princes who strongly objected to the change. In a war against Afghanistan a few years before a British army had suffered severe losses, and this had made the Indians feel that the British were weak. Absurd stories about British defeats during the Crimean War had been told in India. Finally, a new kind of rifle was handed out to the Sepoys in 1857. The Sepoys believed that the cartridges were greased with a mixture of cow's fat and pig's lard. To the Hindu the cow was sacred, and to the Muhammadan the pig was unclean. If they touched the cartridges they believed they would be sinning against their religion, and would be forced to give it up.

So the troops near Delhi, the Indian capital, mutinied, and at first the British soldiers were overpowered. The Sepoys captured Delhi, and the Mutiny spread over the

north of India. The chief places where the revolt took place were Lucknow and Cawnpore, two towns in a state called Oudh, which the British had recently taken over from the native ruler. At Cawnpore a native prince, called Nana Sahib, carried out a terrible massacre of British men, women and children. Lucknow was besieged for a long time, but was finally relieved at the end of 1857 by Sir Colin Campbell. Early in 1858 he also captured Cawnpore. Meanwhile the British recaptured Delhi, and by the end of the year the army had crushed the Mutiny and restored British power throughout the parts of India which were under British rule.

The Indian Mutiny was really a revolt of the army, and not, as the British feared at first, a general rebellion of all Indians. The British were able to crush it, because it was mostly kept to the north of India, because while it was going on many new British troops were sent to India, because the Indians had no definite plans to guide them, and because a body of native troops, the Sikhs, remained loyal. After the Mutiny, in 1858, Parliament passed a new Act for the government of India. This Act said that there should be a special minister at home to give his whole attention to Indian affairs. It also abolished the East India Company, and handed over all its powers to the Government. For many years India remained at peace under this Act.

SUMMARY

The Crimean War (1854-6) was caused by Russia's desire to break up the Turkish dominions. Britain, France and (afterwards) Sardinia allied with Turkey against Russia. After the miseries of the first part of the war, Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister in 1855, and helped to bring the war to a successful con-

clus on, though the Eastern Question was not solved. In 1857 the Indian Mutiny broke out. Beginning with a revolt of native troops (Sepoys), it spread over North India, and was put down after much bloodshed. British power was restored, and a new Act, abolishing the East India Company and reforming the Government of India, was passed in 1858.

GROUP WORK

1. Select a novel dealing with the Crimean War (e.g. Henty's *Jack Archer*, Escott Lynn's *Blair of Balaclava*) or with the Indian Mutiny (e.g. Henty's *For Name and Honor*, E. Lynn's *A Hero of the Indian Mutiny*, H. Strang's *Barclay of the Guards*), and read to the class what you regard as the most striking passage in it.

2. Class in sections examine the reasons respectively why Britain, France, Turkey and Russia went to war in 1854.

3. Class in two sections prepare notes on sanitary and hospital conditions in the Crimean War, and in the Great War (1914-18) (See M. Synges's *Great Englishwomen*, M. Labor's *Pioneer Women* and *The Story of Florence Nightingale* [N.S.S.U.]). Compare notes and account for the differences.

4. Class might have read to it extracts from Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea* and Forrest's *History of the Indian Mutiny* (Vol. I).

EXERCISES

1. Write a short character-sketch of Florence Nightingale (See books mentioned in 3 above.)

2. Find out more about one of the battles of the Crimean War (See Newbolt's *Book of the Thin Red Line*.)

3. Write an account of the Indian Mutiny from the point of view of a native Indian soldier. (See *Stories of the Indian Mutiny* in "Romance of the World Series".)

• Copy the maps on pp. 109 and 116 on a larger scale.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

DURING the last four years of Lord Palmerston's life, and of his period as Prime Minister, there was a terrible war in the United States of America which lasted from 1861 to 1865. This war was fought between the States of the North and the States of the South of the United States, and is therefore called the American Civil War. But because the Southern States tried to break away, or secede, from the others, it is also, and more correctly, called the War of Secession. This war played a most important part in the history of the United States and of the world. Britain and Europe were greatly interested in the developments which caused the war, because North America was a land to which many Europeans emigrated during this period, and with which the countries of Europe did much of their trade.

The trouble between the States of the North and the States of the South began over the question of the employment of negroes as slaves. From the earliest times of the colonisation of America by Europeans, negroes had been imported from Africa. In the south of North America, in Central America, in South America and in the West Indian Islands, the British, the Spaniards and the Portuguese had had to find labour for the fields or the mines, because the natives of America were not numerous enough or strong enough to do it. There were not enough white men

either, and even if there had been, many of these areas were not suitable for white men to work in, and much of the labour was of the kind that white men would not willingly do, though there were many who were forced to do it, such as criminals and prisoners of war. But the numbers of these, in any case, were not sufficient, and the result was that an enormous trade in negro slaves grew up. Traders would land on the African coast, buy gangs of negroes from the native chiefs, ship them across to America, and sell them like so much merchandise. You may remember that in Elizabethan times such great sailors as Sir John Hawkins took a great share in this traffic.

At first the people of Britain and Europe thought there was nothing wrong in such slavery as this. But in the later years of the eighteenth century there grew up in England a movement to bring slavery to an end. A society formed in 1787 for the abolition of slavery was joined in the following year by William Wilberforce, the great man who stood to this purpose until he met with success. In 1807, in the middle of the Napoleonic War, Parliament passed an Act making the slave trade illegal. Slavery went on, but nobody was allowed to trade in slaves in the British Empire. At the end of the war Lord Castlereagh tried to persuade all the countries of Europe to agree to this abolition of the slave trade in their dominions also. But they would not all agree. Some, such as Holland, abolished it. Denmark had done so even before Britain did. Spain and Portugal continued it. Not until 1833, as you read in Chapter 8, was slavery itself abolished in the British Empire. At that time all holders of slaves were paid compensation for their loss of cheap labour, and this cost the country £20,000,000.

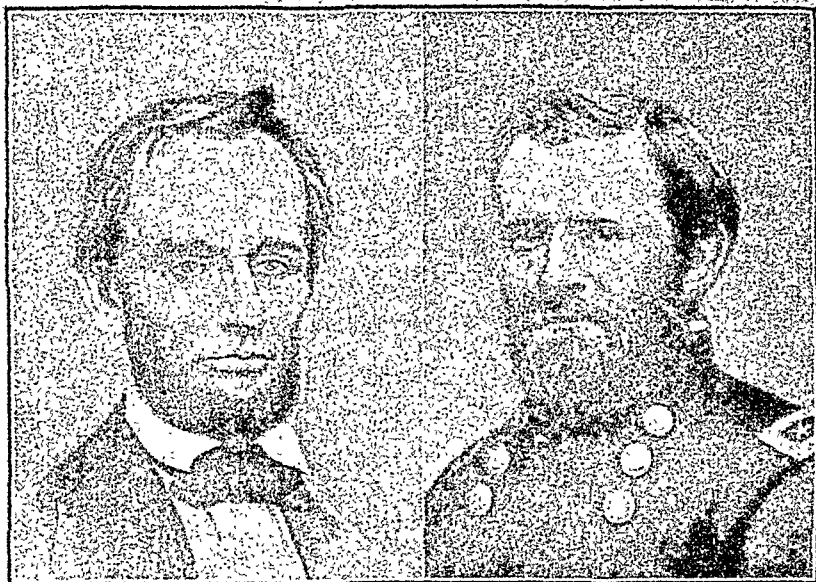
SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

But by this time the United States were independent and the laws of Britain did not apply to them. So there slavery went on, although the actual importation of slaves had been prohibited by a law passed in 1808. But it was only the Southern States that wished slavery to go on. The Northern States had grown partly out of the area called New England, which had been first settled by the Pilgrim Fathers in the reign of James I, and partly out of the area called New Holland, which England had conquered and called New York in the reign of Charles II. The Southern States were, like the first of them, Virginia, settled by men seeking adventure and fortune. The Northern States lived mostly by manufactures, and wished to keep the goods of other nations out of their country, and so protect their own industries. But the Southern States mostly grew cotton, rice and tobacco on their vast plantations, on which the negroes worked for the great landowners. These Southern States wished to have Free Trade, so that they could sell their cheaply grown products in various parts of the world. The Northern States had no use for slaves and slavery did not exist there. But the men of the Southern States felt that they could not get their living without slaves, and so could not abolish slavery.

The question would have been easily settled if the United States had remained as it was in 1783. But, as you will remember reading in Book II, in that year the American colonies gained their freedom. At that time you will recall, there were only thirteen of these colonies and they lay along the eastern coast of North America. In 1789 these thirteen colonies, now called states, formed a Union and set up a government over the whole. But each

state was left with many things about which it was allowed to govern itself. One of these things was slavery. Any state which wanted slavery could have it. This, then, would have settled the question for ever. But in the years that followed, the men of the United States began to explore and open up the vast tracts of land which lay to the west of the thirteen states. There was an endless flow of people emigrating to the United States from the countries of Europe, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. The increased population hastened the opening-up of the western lands, and as these territories grew in population, wealth and power, new states were formed out of them. Now you see the difficulty. The Northern States would have been quite content to let the Southern States have their slaves. But as the new states grew up the question was, which were Southern States and which were not? When this was settled the next question was, should the new states have slaves if they were in the South?

For a time they settled the question by drawing an imaginary line and saying that any new state south of the line could have slaves, while any state north of it could not. But this did not last long, because Americans were rapidly moving westward to the Pacific Ocean and opening up the whole country from east to west. So now the Northern States and the Southern States began to quarrel about whether the government of each new state should decide about what it could do or whether the government of the United States as a whole should decide. This was the real trouble that in the end caused war between the two sets of states. Slavery was the cause of it, and slavery was abolished as a result of it. But the war was not really fought to end slavery. It was fought to see whether a state had the right to do as it liked, when most of the



Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865).

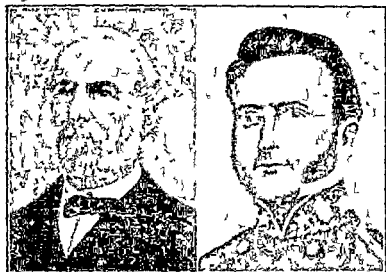
Ulysses Grant (1822-1885).

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NORTHERN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

states decided that it could not do so. Still, the struggle was made more bitter by the question of slavery, and many people in the North hated the South because of it. In 1852 a famous novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had been written by Mrs. Beecher Stowe. This told of great cruelty to the slaves. But this was only true in certain cases, for many of the slaves were well treated and contented, especially those who worked as servants in the houses of the planters. But thousands of copies of this book were sold, and most people believed it to be true.

THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS

The government of the United States as a whole was carried out by representatives from all the states sitting

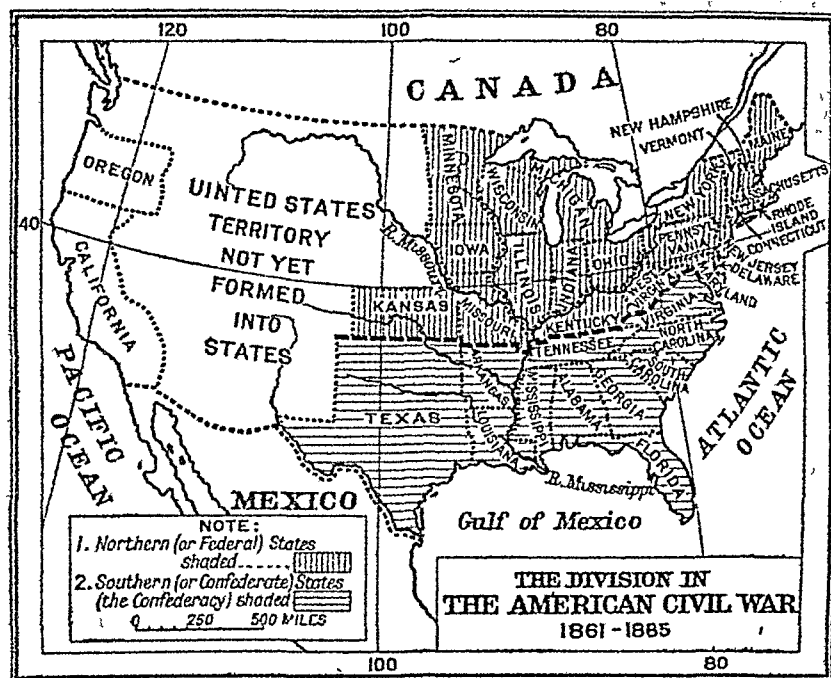


Robert E. Lee (1807-1870)

Stonewall Jackson (1824-1863)

TWO GREAT SOUTHERN COMMANDERS DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

in a Parliament (or Congress, as the Americans call it) in Washington, the capital. Besides these representatives a President was elected for four years as head of the Government. Now, while the Southern States could have one of their own people as President, they felt they were safe. But in 1860 one of the most remarkable Americans that ever lived was elected as President. This was Abraham Lincoln, who was then fifty-one years of age. He was born in Kentucky, where he spent his boyhood in great poverty and hardship. He lived in the backwoods and dwelt in a log-cabin. Although he had to struggle hard for existence in this primitive part of the country, he managed to educate himself. He afterwards moved to the state of Illinois, where he became a lawyer and began to



take an interest in the affairs of government. He wrote the most wonderful letters, and was a great orator, as you would see if you read some of his speeches which are still published in book form. He was against slavery, but what he was most anxious to do was to keep the states together in their union. The Southern States knew this, and saw that there was no hope for them if they remained part of the United States. So in 1861 eleven Southern States broke away, or seceded, from the rest, declared themselves independent, set up a new government for themselves, and elected a President of their own, calling themselves the Confederate States.

Now, Abraham Lincoln said he was President of the whole of the United States, and not only of a part of it.

So he continued to occupy all the forts with United States troops, and to collect the taxes. The Confederate army attacked one of these forts in 1861, and the war broke out. The Southern or Confederate States considered that they had the right to be free if they wished, and therefore considered that they were fighting a war as one country might with another. President Lincoln said they had no right to do this, and so regarded them as rebels fighting a civil war against their proper government. At first the Southern army, which had some very fine commanders, such as Robert E. Lee and 'Stonewall' Jackson, held their own, but as time went on they lost ground. This was bound to be so, because the North had a population four times as large as the white population of the South, where by this time there were more than three million negroes. The North also had much greater wealth and power to make weapons of war. Their fleet, also, was stronger, and they were able to blockade the South and stop much of their trade. Finally, the North found a very fine commander in General Grant, who gradually wore his opponents down.

All the same, it took four years to make the South see what a hopeless struggle it was, and it was not until 1865 that peace was made. By this peace the Confederacy was broken up, and the Southern States had to return as part of the Union of all the States. Also slavery was abolished, and the slaves were not only made free, but given several other rights. So Abraham Lincoln had saved the Union, and had freed the slaves by standing fast to his purpose in spite of the horrors of this long war between men of the same nation. But just when this work was done, and when he had been elected President for a second period of four years, a madman shot him as he sat in a box at a theatre. So ended his heroic life, but his



THE SOUTH SURRENDERS, 1865.

The picture shows the surrender of General Lee, the Southern Commander, to General Grant, the Northern Commander, at Appomattox, in Virginia, on April 9, 1865, which brought the American Civil War to an end. Notice the uniforms.

work lived after him, though the white people in the South always voted afterwards against anybody who belonged to Abraham Lincoln's party.

Great Britain suffered from the American War chiefly because she imported cotton from the Southern States. As the Northern ships blockaded the South, very little cotton could be sent across the sea, and Lancashire suffered from a cotton famine. This threw thousands of people in the North of England out of work, and there was great poverty and distress there. The Southern States tried to get British ship-building firms to build ships for them. One of these ships, called the *Alabama*, was built in Birkenhead, near Liverpool, and was launched and taken out to sea before the

British Government could stop it. This ship was regarded by the North as a "privateer," and during the war it did damage amounting to millions of pounds to the Northern ships. After the war the United States claimed damages for this, and the British paid the United States a vast sum as compensation. So, you may imagine that many Englishmen disliked the North for fighting with the South, so stopping British trade and closing British factories. But most Englishmen felt that slavery was a terrible thing, and in the end were glad that it was abolished in the United States, even though it took this dreadful war to do it.

SUMMARY

In the British Empire the slave trade was abolished in 1807 and slavery in 1833. In the United States the importation of negro slaves was prohibited in 1808, but slavery itself went on in the Southern States. As the United States expanded westward, the North and South quarrelled on this question. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and in 1861 the Slave States formed a new Confederacy and broke away or seceded from the other states. This led to the American Civil War or the War of Secession (1861-5). Finally the South was defeated and forced to rejoin the Union. Slavery was abolished and the slaves were given rights. In the same year Lincoln was murdered.

GROUP WORK

1. Read a passage to the class from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by H. B. Stowe, or *For Life and Liberty*, by G. Stables.
2. Class in two sections prepare details of the arguments of the North and South respectively, and debate the two points of view. (See J. Finnemore's *America*.)
3. Build up a community map of North America showing the expansion westward and the states as divided in the war.
4. Class might have read to it extracts from Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln*.

EXERCISES

1. Study the map of the United States at this time and note the areas involved in the war.

2. Write a short character-sketch of Abraham Lincoln. (See H. B. Niver's *Modern Nations and their Famous Men*, Elias's *Abraham Lincoln*, and *Abraham Lincoln* in "Children's Heroes Series.")

3. Imagine yourself a negro in a Southern State, and give an account of your impressions on being freed after the Civil War.

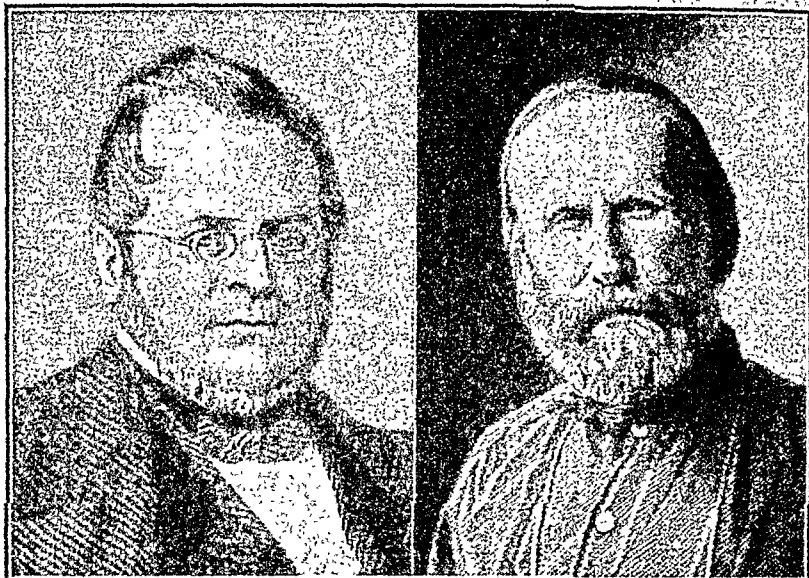
4. Prepare notes for a speech by Abraham Lincoln on negro slavery.

THE MAKING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE - AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY -

ITALY'S FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE war in America, about which you have just read, was fought to prevent the government of the whole nation being broken into two separate governments. While this was happening across the Atlantic wars were going on in Italy, Germany and France to make one government out of several different ones in the case of the Italian and German nations. You will remember reading in Chapters 7 and 10 how the Germans and Italians both failed to unite as a result of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. You will remember also how after 1848 Austria regained her power in North Italy and in Germany. But after the revolution in France Louis Napoleon made himself Emperor of the French as Napoleon III, and in Italy the little Kingdom of Sardinia in the north west managed to keep its freedom and its rights in spite of the efforts of Austria to deprive it of them.

After the revolutions of 1848 there appeared two remarkable statesmen, one in Sardinia the other in Prussia. The Sardinian statesman was Count Cavour, who became chief minister to King Victor Emmanuel in 1852 at the age of forty two. The Prussian statesman was Prince Bismarck who became chief minister to the new king, William, in 1862 at the age of forty seven. Each of these men determined to unite the nation to which he belonged, and to give it one government over the whole. Each of



Count Cavour (1810-1861).

Joseph Garibaldi (1807-1882).

ITALY'S GREATEST STATESMAN AND HER GREATEST SOLDIER
DURING HER STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY.

them saw that there was only one way to do it, and that was to drive Austria out of his country. The only way to do this was by means of war. You may wonder what the Emperor Napoleon III had to do with this. You will now see how he mixed himself up in these affairs, and in the end helped both Italy and Germany to gain their union while he himself lost his crown.

From 1852 to 1858 Cavour made preparations for a war with Austria. His aim was, first of all, to get the Austrians out of North Italy, and then to make a united kingdom of Northern Italy. With Austrian power out of the way, he believed that he would get the rest of Italy to join this new kingdom. So he reformed the army, built railways and improved money matters. But he knew

that, even then, Sardinia would not be strong enough to defeat the Austrians by itself. In 1858 he made an alliance with the Emperor Napoleon III, who was anxious for military glory, and saw a chance of adding a little more land to France by the arrangements made. In two battles fought in 1859 the French and Sardinians beat the Austrians and drove them out of the province of Lombardy. Then Napoleon suddenly stopped and made peace with Austria. So by the treaty Sardinia only gained Lombardy, which was then joined to the Kingdom of Sardinia. But the other province, Venice, was left in Austrian hands. In the following year three other little states in the centre joined the new kingdom also.

At the same time, a strange thing had been happening in the South where the people of Sicily again revolted from their hateful Bourbon king. They were helped by a remarkable Italian soldier named Garibaldi. As in exile from Italy after being in one of Mazzini's plots Garibaldi had a most romantic career as a soldier helping the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in their fight for freedom. Later, in the Italian Revolution of 1848-9 he helped the King of Sardinia against the Austrians and defended the Roman Republic against the French. He was living on an Italian island when the Sicilian revolt broke out in 1860. He immediately gathered a thousand volunteers, dressed in Red Shirts as a uniform and marched with them through Sicily. They then crossed to the mainland and captured Naples. The King of Naples fled, and the people of Naples and Sicily joined in with the northern kingdom. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel was hailed as King of Italy, and the first Italian Parliament met at Turin. In this same year Cavour died, before the work of union was complete. King Victor Emmanuel had already taken



possession of all the Pope's dominions, except Rome and the land around it. For the French garrison remained in Rome. So now Victor Emmanuel called himself King of Italy. But United Italy still wanted to have Venetia, which the Austrians still held, and Rome, where the Pope, supported by the French troops, still ruled. Let us see how these two areas came to be added to the new Kingdom

BISMARCK, AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

Very soon after Austria had fought her war with the French and Sardinians, she had to fight another with Prussia. In 1864 Prussia had fought a successful war against Denmark, and took from her two pieces of territory. One of these was looked after by Prussia and the other by Austria. During the two years that followed, Bismarck picked a quarrel with Austria over the government of the lands he had snatched from Denmark. The quarrel became so furious that in 1866 war broke out between the two countries. During the few years before this Bismarck had been preparing for this war. He said that Germany must be united, with Prussia as the chief state of the union. He, like Cavour in Italy, strengthened the army and made friends and allies all round, so that Prussia would be free to give her whole attention to defeating Austria in war. He made an alliance with Italy, whose army was to keep an Austrian army busy in Venetia, while Prussia attacked the rest in Bohemia. This war between Prussia and Austria in 1866 was fought and won in seven weeks. Bismarck was not a soldier, but he knew how to choose great military leaders, and one of these hopelessly crushed the Austrian army at the Battle of Sadowa or Königgratz. This was the first war in history in which a leader, far from the battle-line, could direct or follow the battle by means of the telegraph. In this way Bismarck kept in touch with all the military movements of the war.

The Austrians won against the Italians, but they were so badly beaten by the Prussians that they had to agree to peace. By this peace the Emperor of Austria agreed to have nothing more to do with the government of Germany, and in 1867 he set up a new kind of government for Austria

and Hungary, having himself twice crowned, first as Emperor of Austria and secondly as King of Hungary. By the treaty also Austria gave up her Italian province of Venetia, and this was added to the Kingdom of Italy. So now the Kingdom of Italy was almost complete, but the French army was still in Rome. Bismarck, with Austria out of the way, now made a union of the North German states, and went on to prepare for his next war. Napoleon III thought that he could get some German territory added to France by making arrangements with Bismarck. Bismarck realised that only a war with France would make the South German states join with the new German union that he had made. He felt that if there were a war with France, these South German states would rush to join their brother Germans. And he was right. He picked a quarrel with Napoleon III, who thought that he could rely on the South German states to help him against Bismarck, whom many of the South Germans disliked. In 1870 the Franco-German war broke out. But in this France had to fight alone against a united Germany, for it happened just as Bismarck had supposed, and all the German states fought side by side.

RESULTS OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

In this war France was badly defeated. In the first days of the war, in September, 1870, Napoleon III himself surrendered with a large French army at Sedan, and the Germans moved triumphantly through France and finally captured Paris in 1871. Napoleon III abdicated. He and his beautiful and devoted wife, who was a Spanish princess greatly beloved wherever she went, came to England, where Napoleon III died two years later. The French set up a temporary government to make a treaty

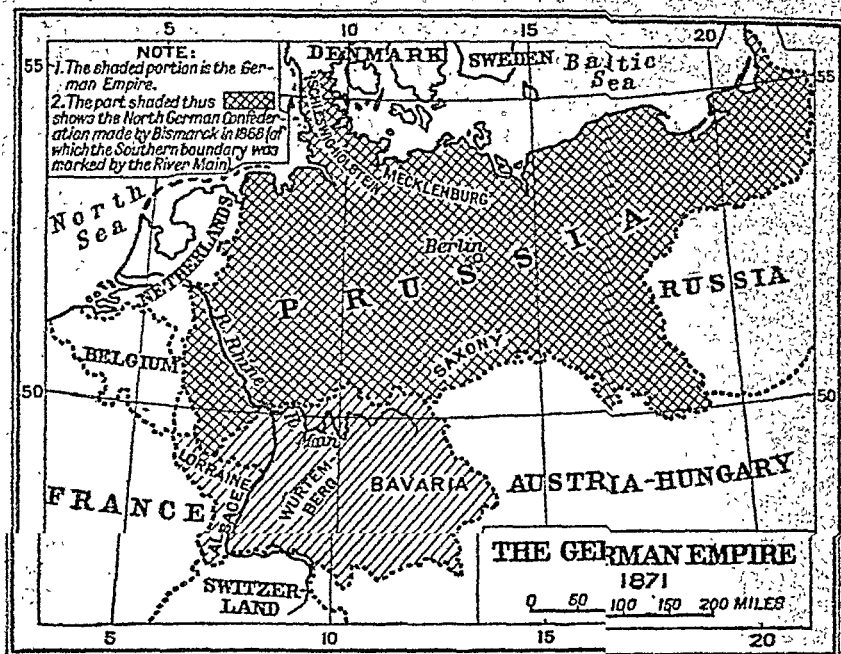


NAPOLION III AND BISMARCK 8-0

The French Emperor and the German Chancellor just after the Emperor's surrender at Sedan September 8-0. Can you tell which is which?

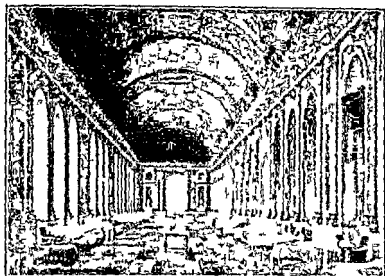
with Germany. By this treaty, which was signed at Versailles, the French surrendered two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, which had given France a frontier on the Rhine. These were then made a part of the German Empire. Also France had to pay an enormous sum as indemnity or damages and had to have a German army in France until the bill was paid.

But while this treaty was being made, Bismarck had an even greater triumph. For all the German states now agreed to join together in a new union called the German Empire. So it was that King William I of Prussia was declared Kaiser, or German Emperor, in the very hall where, fifty years later, Germany was forced to sign the treaty at the end of the Great War (1914-18), which



destroyed the German Emperor's power. By the arrangements made in 1871 the Emperor remained King of Prussia as well as being German Emperor, and the German states kept their princes and had governments of their own for certain things. But Prussia was by far the greatest state in Germany, and for many years to come she controlled the government of the whole of Germany, because her King was German Emperor, or Kaiser. Bismarck became Chancellor, or Chief Minister, of the new German Empire and carried on his work of union for another twenty years. So, by these military means, Germany was at last united under one government, and from that time, as you will see, played a much more important part in the world's affairs than she had ever done before.

Italy, too, completed her unity by the Franco-German



THE HALL OF MIRRORS IN THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

Showing the vast hall converted into a German Hospital during the Franco-Prussian War. Here the German Empire was proclaimed in 1871.

War. France became so short of soldiers that, in 1870 she had to withdraw the army in Rome, which had helped the Pope back to power in 1849. As soon as the French army had gone, an Italian army marched into Rome. The Pope decided to make himself a prisoner, and to remain with his own little government in his palace and grounds known as the Vatican, but he was never again a prince governing a territory as he had been before. So in 1871 Rome was at last proclaimed the capital of United Italy. In this way the work of Mazzini, King Victor Emmanuel, Cavour and Garibaldi—the four great patriots of Italy during these years—was completed. All of them, except Cavour, lived to see Italy united. Austria still held one or two small Italian areas in the north, and Italy was never satisfied until she had



PROCLAIMING THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1870.

The picture, taken from an English illustrated paper of the time, shows a part of the huge crowd celebrating the proclamation of the Republic in Paris after the fall of Napoleon III, September, 1870. Notice the dress of the period and the "Tricolour," the flag of the Republic.

won these. But that was not to happen until the Great War (1914-18). Still, Italy was now a united kingdom, and the days when the country of the Italians could be made a battle-ground for other nations were over.

France had lost two provinces in which she considered most of the people were French. She never forgave Germany for taking them from her. The chance for

revenge did not come until the Great War. But at the time of her defeat in 1871 she had all she could do to make a government for herself. When Napoleon III abdicated, a Republic was proclaimed, and in 1871 Adolphe Thiers became the first President. But the government that was then set up was only temporary, and it was not until 1875 that France established a settled form of government, which was known as the Third Republic. The first Republic had followed the overthrow of Louis XVI in the first French Revolution. The second had followed the overthrow of Louis Philippe in the Revolution of 1848. Each of the first two Republics had been ended by a man who made himself Emperor. The Second Empire of Napoleon III had done much good to France in many ways, but very few Frenchmen wanted the Emperor to remain after his defeat. The Third Republic was to last longer than either of the first two for it still exists and is the government that France has to-day. In this Republic a President was to be elected every seven years by the French Houses of Parliament which are called the Chambers. The President was to be helped in the government by a Prime Minister and a Cabinet like those we have in Britain. Under this government France at last ended her revolutions, and set out on a new road among her neighbours.

All through these years of war in these western countries of the Continent, Britain was at peace. Let us now see what was happening in our own country during this time.

SUMMARY

Count Cavour became chief minister in Sardinia (1852) and Prince Bismarck in Prussia (1862). Sardinia, helped by France, captured Lombardy from the Austrians (1859). In 1860 Garibaldi,

with his thousand "Red Shirts," liberated Naples, and the south and centre then united with the north to form the Kingdom of Italy (1861). War between Prussia and Denmark (1864) was followed by the Austro-Prussian War (1866). Austria gave up her interests in Germany, and Bismarck formed the North German states into a union (1867). As a result of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1) Napoleon III abdicated, France became a Republic, the German Empire was established, and Italian unity was completed.

GROUP WORK

1. Henty has written two novels on these events—*Out with Garibaldi* and *The Young Franks-Tireurs* (of which there is an abridged version called *The Boy Heroes of France*). Select an incident from one of these for reading to the class.

2. Class in three sections find out more about the history of these years in Germany, Italy and France respectively. (See M. O. Davis's *Outlines of European History*, D. K. Gordon's *Junior History of Europe*, *How Italy became a Nation*—published by McDougall—and S. Dark's *The Child's Book of France*.)

3. Collect notes and pictures on Bismarck, Garibaldi and the Thousand, and the Franco-Prussian War. Pool your collections.

4. Extracts from one of Trevelyan's Italian studies (e.g. *Garibaldi and the Thousand*) or from C. B. Maurice's *The Franco-German War* might be read to the class.

EXERCISES

1. On an outline map of Europe put in the areas concerned in the events related in this chapter.

2. Write a character-sketch of one of the following : Bismarck, Cavour, Garibaldi, Napoleon III. (See Moncrieff's *Heroes of European History*.)

3. Imagine yourself one of Garibaldi's Thousand and write an account of your experiences of the march through Sicily and Naples. (*How Italy became a Nation* will help you.)

4. Write the story of the picture on p. 140.

TWO GREAT LEADERS

YOU will remember reading in Chapter 9 how Sir Robert Peel's party of Conservatives split into two parts when he abolished the Corn Laws in 1846. These two sections of Peel's party, as we said, became known as the Protectionists and the Peelites. The first were those who would not agree with Peel in establishing Free Trade, and the second were those who clung to their leader even after his fall. But neither of these two sections of the old Tory or Conservative Party was now strong enough to form a Cabinet to govern the country. So in 1846 government passed again into the hands of the Whigs. When Lord Palmerston died in 1865, his Ministers went on governing for a few months and then fell. After 1866 the Whigs gradually disappeared or joined the Peelites, who now began to be called Liberals. The Protectionists by then called themselves Conservatives again.

So that during the twenty years following the end of Sir Robert Peel's period as Prime Minister, two of the great parties in Parliament to-day, Liberals and Conservatives, grew up. You may remember reading in Book II how the Whigs and the Tories first clearly appeared during the reign of Charles II. It is quite wrong to say that the Whigs became the Liberals and the Tories became the Conservatives. As you see, both the Liberals and the Conservatives grew out of the Tory Party in the nineteenth century, and the Whig Party gradually ceased to exist.

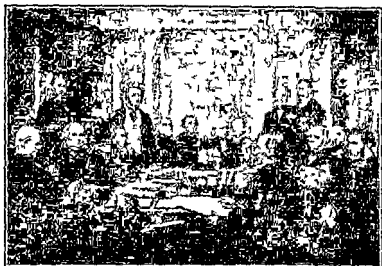


BENJAMIN DISRAELI (1804-1881)

A drawing, made when he was a young man, in which the artist shows his gaudy dress and foppish manner.

The two new parties that we clearly see after the death of Palmerston were very different from the older parties. The leaders of these parties, also, were different from those who had gone before. The leader of the Conservatives was Benjamin Disraeli, and the leader of the Liberals was William Ewart Gladstone. Each of these men became Prime Minister in turn, and they were bitterly opposed to each other, for, although they were both clever and remarkable men and both great leaders of the British nation, they were as different from each other in almost every way as two such men could be.

Benjamin Disraeli was born in 1804. His father was a Jew, who was well known as a writer. The father believed that his son would have a great career, and he had him baptised as a Christian, so that he should not suffer because of his religion. So Disraeli was able to enter Parliament much earlier than he could have done if he had not become a Christian. It was not until 1858 that a law was passed allowing Jews to sit in Parliament, but Disraeli

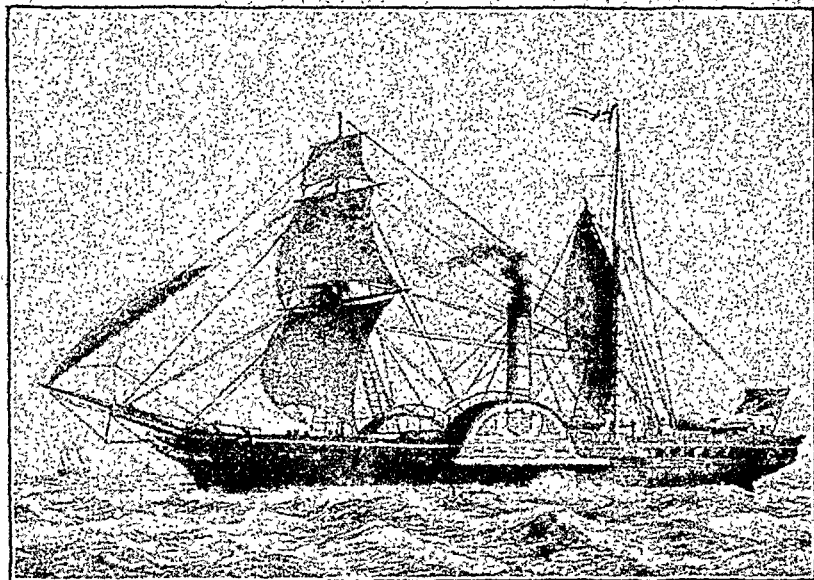


From a painting of the House of Commons in the House of Commons.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE (1809-1898)

Showing the Liberal leader with his first Cabinet of Ministers (1868-1874)
Can you point out Gladstone and any of the other Ministers?

was elected in 1836. Disraeli soon became a well-known figure. He was very striking in his appearance, as you can see from his portrait. He dressed very showily, and many people were inclined to laugh at him as a fop. No man could have had greater difficulties to fight against than Disraeli had in working himself up to be the leader of the great party which grew out of that body of men who deserted Peel in 1846. They were mostly great landowners, English to the backbone, and very proud of their family history and their traditions. Yet Disraeli, by the force of his character and the brilliance of his mind, made these men follow him, and in the end they became loyal to him. Disraeli was a man with very charming manners, and



AN EARLY STEAMSHIP.

The *Sirius*, which crossed the Atlantic from Cork, Ireland, to New York in April, 1838. Notice the sails, the tall funnel and the paddle.

among his greatest admirers was Queen Victoria, who liked him as her Prime Minister very much better than she did Gladstone.

William Ewart Gladstone was a very different sort of man. He was born in 1809, the son of a wealthy cotton merchant of Liverpool. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and became one of the greatest scholars of his time, having a very deep knowledge of Latin and Greek and Mathematics. He began his career in Parliament as a young man. He was then a Tory, and did not believe in carrying out reforms. But later on he was converted to the idea that the people should be more free. This is why he and his followers came to be called the Liberal Party.

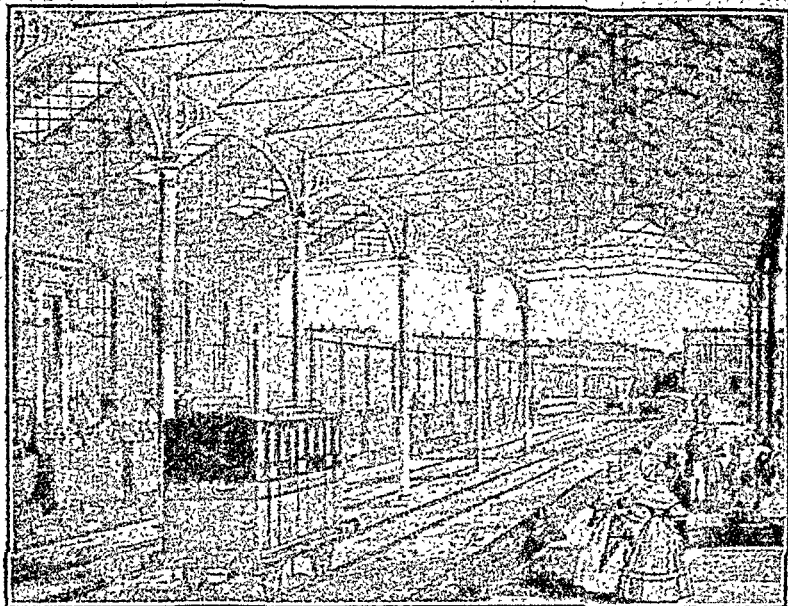
Both Disraeli and Gladstone had taken a place in the



AN EARLY LOCOMOTIVE RUNNING ROUND FUSTON SQUARE
IN 1869

Notice the people paying to see the show. This and the next two pictures show the progress made in railways in fifty years.

Government some years before Palmerston's death. Each held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose business it is to look after taxation and the money affairs of the country. They took it in turns to hold this office, just as later on they held the office of Prime Minister in turns. So they had both had a good deal of experience in government when the time came for them to hold the highest position in the state. During the last few years of his life Lord Palmerston had been more interested in foreign affairs than home affairs, and, although he belonged to the party which had passed the Reform Act of 1832, he was not in favour of further reforms in Great Britain.



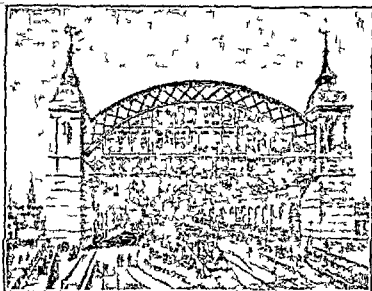
EUSTON STATION IN 1838.

Notice the open carriages on the left.

But by the time of Palmerston's death both the new parties and the new leaders were ready to give greater freedom to the people.

NEW METHODS OF COMMUNICATION

For many changes had taken place since the passing of the Act of 1832 and those reforms which followed it, and Britain had already become a very different country. Many great discoveries and inventions were made and movements started even before the Crimean War. By 1866 these discoveries, inventions and movements had produced changes which made new laws and new freedom necessary. You have read that the Industrial Revolution changed Britain from a country in which most people



CANNON STREET STATION IN 1840

Notice the closed carriages on the right

lived by agricultural pursuits to one in which they lived by manufacturing, and it is important to remember that changes connected with the Industrial Revolution went on long after 1832.

Among these changes were those connected with transport. Just as steam power came to be used for machines in textile and other trades, so it was applied to sea and land travel. The first steam-driven paddle steamer had appeared in America in 1807, and in 1812 one was running up and down the River Clyde. By 1819 steamers were crossing the Atlantic, and by 1840 several of the great modern steamship companies, such as the P & O (Peninsular and Oriental) and the Cunard Lines, had

been founded. By the middle of the nineteenth century only goods which did not require to be delivered rapidly were carried in sailing vessels. By that time, too, ships were being driven by the screw instead of the paddle-wheel. This change had a tremendous effect on British trade, which was now able to find all sorts of new markets in every part of the world. Another result was that British colonies could be reached much more quickly. For instance, by 1850 the journey to India could be made in six weeks instead of six months which it might easily take in a sailing vessel. This gave people at home a much greater sense of the importance of the Empire. Later on, also, battleships came to be driven by steam, though it was not for many years that the British fleet gave up its last great sailing war-vessel, of the kind that Nelson had known and loved.

Even more remarkable than the development of the use of steam on the sea was the growth of railways. In 1825 George Stephenson built the first railway, between Stockton and Darlington in the North of England. This was opened in 1825. Then he built another to join Manchester and Liverpool. This line was opened in 1830. During the next twenty years rapid progress was made in the building of railways all over England. New towns began to spring up in places rich with products of the earth which had not been realised till the railways came. People then moved about much more than they had done before, and railways became popular as a means of travel for pleasure. This soon led to great improvement in the accommodation for passengers, and third-class passengers, who had at first travelled in open trucks, soon had closed carriages.

Another great invention at this time was the Penny Post, which Rowland Hill, as Postmaster-General, introduced in

THE WONDER of the AGE!!

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An Exhibition admitted by its numerous Visitors to be a most interesting and attractive of any in this great Metropolis. In his list of curiosities are the illustrious names of several of the Crowned Heads of Europe and nearly the whole of the Nobility of England.

This Exhibition will have so much as to tell itself to ten or of ten or well worth a visit from all who have to see the wonders of science. —*Messenger Post*

The Electric Telegraph is not only the nature and extent of its communication by its extraordinary agency, every person who could converse with another at New York or any other place however distant as easily as if they were as rapidly as if both parties were in the same room. Questions proposed by one will be asked by means of the Apparatus, and answers telegraphed at a far distance be returned by a person who is off who will answer at their request by a bell or fire a cannon in an incredibly short space of time, after the signal for it is being so has been given.

The Electric Fluid travels at the rate of 280,000 Miles per Second.

By its powerful agency it renders a large number of people (as in the late case of Tawell.)—Thieves detected and fastly which of great importance, the timely assistance of Medical aid has been procured in cases which otherwise would have proved fatal.

The great national importance of this wonderful invention is so well known that any further allusion here to its merits would be superfluous.

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THE FIRST ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

An advertisement of an exhibition of the first electric telegraph from London to Slough built in 1843. Read what the notice says

1839. This again helped trade and intercourse between people, for a person could now send a letter for a penny, where before he might have been charged as much as 1s. 8d. Another invention that helped in the same way was the electric telegraph. The first line was erected between London and Slough in 1843. Soon the whole country was covered with a network of poles and wires, and in 1851 the first submarine cable was laid between Dover and Calais. It was by this means that news reached England of Louis Napoleon's action in making himself master of France at the end of 1851.

THE PEOPLE AND REFORM

These were the changes that brought about the new conditions which Disraeli and Gladstone had to face when each in turn came into power. For these changes affected greatly the position of the working-classes, who demanded that their trade unions should have the right to strike and other rights which they were not allowed by the Act of 1824, since that Act had only allowed trade unions to be formed. The working-classes believed that they would get these new powers if only they gained the right to vote. You will remember that the Chartists had demanded this right for working-men, and although this movement had come to an end in 1848, the demand for reform still went on. Both Disraeli and Gladstone saw that something must be done. In 1867 Disraeli was not actually Prime Minister, who at that time was in the House of Lords. But he was leader of his party in the House of Commons. He brought in a Bill to give the vote to all householders in towns, and also to all those who paid £10 in rent, even though they were lodgers. Gladstone did a good deal to help this Bill, and it became law. In the following year

FROM THE LONDON PUNCH VOL. 1, 1878



DOCTORS DIFFLI"

Dr. WILSON B. "I WASH YOU WE BULL, YOUR CONSTITUTION IS BEING EXHAUSTED BY THAT—A PERSON'S TRAJECTORY
Dr. BRADMAN D. "IT SEEMS WE BULL, YOUR CONSTITUTION IS BEING EXHAUSTED BY THAT—A PERSON'S TRAJECTORY"

(Revised ed by perm. 100 of the Proprietors of Punch)

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI 18-8

A cartoon from *Punch* of the year 1878 showing Gladstone and Disraeli Doctors and John Bull as the patient. Notice the use of the constitution, which has two meanings. It means the state of the human body but it also means a system of government. Also notice the artists' initials in the bottom corner. They are those of Sir John Tenniel who produced you may have seen in another book for he was the first great illustrator of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.

Disraeli became Prime Minister, and then there was an election in which the new voters took part. Instead of repaying Disraeli by voting for the Conservatives, the new voters gave the Liberals a majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister, which office he held during the next six years.

Between 1868 and 1874 Gladstone carried out some most important reforms. The chief one was the Education Act of 1870. The progress that the country had made gave rise to the cry that every citizen should be educated and that the Government should see to this ; for having the right to vote was useless without education, and there was great danger in a great number of people having votes without knowing how to use them properly. Before this time all that Parliament had done was to grant a certain amount of money to various sets of people or societies. Among these societies was one, founded in 1808, called the British and Foreign School Society. Then the English Church started one called the National Society. Many schools, called National Schools, for giving education to the poor then sprang up all over the country. Besides these, there were societies formed for the teaching of infants.

By 1870 Parliament was granting a great deal of money to these various societies, and there was a special committee of the Government with inspectors who went round the schools to see that the money was well spent. Gladstone's Education Act of 1870 did not close the voluntary schools, but it created new schools for poor people all over the country. The country was divided into districts, and each was to have a School Board, such as the School Board for London, elected by the people. These boards were to build schools and pay for their upkeep by money or rates raised in the district and helped by grants from the Government. So every child was given the opportunity to go to school, and six years later elementary education was made compulsory. The School Boards set up by the Act of 1870 could allow children to attend school free of charge if they wished, but a further Act, passed in 1891, made

elementary education free by forbidding the Boards to charge fees, however small.

Another of Gladstone's Acts was connected with the method of voting for Members of Parliament. Up to then the voter voted by word of mouth. In this way a man could not keep his vote secret. In 1872 Gladstone passed the Ballot Act, which said that at elections a vote was to be given by putting a cross against the name of the candidate on a piece of paper, which was to be dropped into the ballot-box. After this no man could be forced to vote for anyone for whom he did not wish to vote, because voting was absolutely secret, and no one else could know how a man had voted. Gladstone was also greatly interested in Irish matters, and this brought about his fall in 1874. When he next became Prime Minister in 1880, he had still more trouble over these affairs. While Gladstone had been Prime Minister, Disraeli had been strengthening the Conservative Party by making it greatly interested in the affairs of the British Empire, and when he became Prime Minister again in 1874, it was specially about the future of the Empire that he was concerned. In order that we may understand this properly, we must now look again into events occurring in other countries.

SUMMARY

Disraeli (born 1804) was leader of the Protectionists or Conservatives; Gladstone (born 1809) of the Peelite or Liberals. England was very different when each of these men became Prime Minister (1868) from what it had been in the early days of the nineteenth century. Ocean-going vessels were driven by steam, and England was covered with a network of railways, developed from Stephenson's first railway in 1825. The first telegraph line was erected in 1843, and the first submarine cable laid in 1851. Disraeli carried a new

Reform Act in 1867, and Gladstone the Education Act of 1870 and the Ballot Act of 1872. Gladstone fell in 1874, and Disraeli returned as Prime Minister.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in three sections collect further information on the history of steam vessels, the early development of railways and the beginnings of the electric telegraph respectively. Pool the information. (See A. R. Horne's *The Age of Machinery* and Claxton's book given in Exercise 1, below.)

2. Hold a mock election (a) before the Ballot Act of 1872, and (b) after.

3. Describe to the class some incident in the life of Disraeli or Gladstone. (See J. Finnemore's *Famous Englishmen*.)

4. An early speech of Disraeli or Gladstone, or passages from Morley's *Gladstone* or Monypenny and Buckle's *Disraeli*, might be read to the class.

EXERCISES

1. Pick out some industry, preferably in your own town, and trace its rise and growth. (W. J. Claxton's *Our Country's Industrial History* and A. O. Cooke's *Work and Workers* may help you.)

2. Write a short character-sketch of Disraeli or Gladstone. (Finnemore's book given above will help you.)

3. Imagine yourself a workman given the vote by the Act of 1867. Write your impressions.

4. With the help of the pictures on pages 146-149, write an account of the progress of methods of transport during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 15

RUSSIA, THE BALKANS AND AFRICA

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

IN Chapter 13 you read of the important events that brought about great changes in government in France, Germany and Italy. These changes in the western half of Europe had important effects on the eastern half of the Continent. All through this time Russia was recovering her strength after her defeat in the Crimean War. She never gave up her idea of driving the Turks out of Europe and becoming the leader of the people of the Balkan countries which Turkey governed. You will remember that by the treaty which ended the Crimean War Russia was not allowed to have any more warships in the Black Sea. While this rule lasted Russia could not begin again her task of crushing Turkey. So in 1870, while war was going on between France and Germany, and the European powers were busy with other things, Russia quietly began again to have warships in the Black Sea. Germany agreed to let Russia do this in return for Russia promising not to interfere in the Franco-German War. In this way Russia was able once more to interfere in Turkish affairs.

Another thing you must notice is that the people of the Balkan countries were coming to think of themselves more and more as separate nations, just as the Germans and Italians had done. The more this idea grew the more each of these Balkan peoples wished to make itself free and independent, and to set up a government for itself, ruling

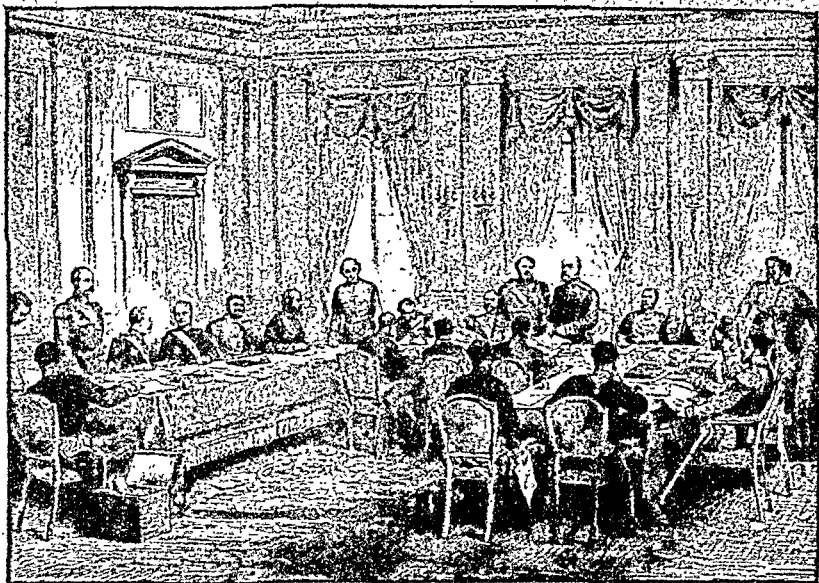
the whole of the country. This is what had happened in Germany and Italy as the result of successful wars. Why should not the Balkan countries do the same? But another result of the wars that Bismarck had fought was to deprive Austria of her share in the government of Germany. As a result of this Austria began to think more about the countries to the south and the east, and not so much about Germany to the north. In this way new troubles in the Balkans grew up.

The first important sign of these new troubles appeared in 1875 when a Balkan province, called Bosnia, near the Adriatic Sea, broke out in revolt against the Turkish Government. Austria at once called on the Sultan of Turkey to improve the conditions of the people of Bosnia. Other Balkan peoples were not satisfied with this, and in the following year Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Sultan. Then the people of Bulgaria revolted, and the Turks, having their hands full elsewhere, tried to put down the Bulgarian revolt by the most horrible massacres and cruelties. It was soon discovered that Russian agents had secretly egged the Balkans on to rebel. In 1877 the Czar came out into the open and declared war on the Sultan. Russian soldiers crossed the Danube and marched into the Balkans, in order, as they said, "to deliver their Christian brethren from the infidel."

Other Balkan people now joined the Russians, and soon they were almost at the gates of Constantinople. So, early in 1878, the Sultan made a treaty with Russia in which he promised to give up Bulgaria and other territory. This was to be made into a large kingdom under the protection of Russia. But certain countries could not stand by and see Russia take slices of Turkey like this. Britain especially was anxious about it, and Disraeli said there ought



to be a meeting of all the countries concerned. This meeting or conference took place in Berlin in 1878. It was known as the Congress of Berlin. This Congress made a new treaty, the Treaty of Berlin, to which Russia had to agree. By this new treaty, Bulgaria was divided into two parts, each with its own prince, but still paying tribute to Turkey. Besides this, three Balkan countries—Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania—were declared in



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878.

Can you find Disraeli? How can you recognise the Turkish envoys?

dependent. The province of Bosnia which had revolted was put under the protection of Austria instead of Turkey.

Even after this the Turks still governed a large area of the Balkans running right across from the Black Sea to the Adriatic Sea. In this area the Sultan promised to carry out reforms for the people. So now there were three new free states, besides Greece, in the Balkans formerly ruled by Turkey. But there were all sorts of troubles yet to come in the Balkans. The Turks did not carry out the promised reforms, and Bulgaria, which Russia had tried to free from Turkey, still remained broken and without full freedom. Russia was angry at being prevented from becoming the protector of Bulgaria, and she went

on hoping that she would have another chance even yet to become the most important power in the Balkans.

THE RUSH FOR EMPIRE

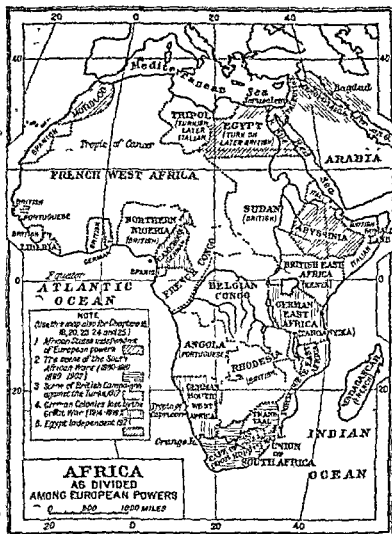
During these years the European states were busy also outside Europe. The Industrial Revolution and the change in methods of travel and communication opened up parts of the world that European countries had up to then known very little about. Almost every country in Europe wished to own some territory in other continents, so that it could increase its own trade and wealth. Russia, besides trying to find a way out through the Black Sea, spread her power in other directions. All Russian harbours were frozen for some part of the year, and Russia wanted to find a warm-water port. There were other places where this could be found besides Europe, but they were a long way off. In her attempts to find such an outlet the Russians gradually moved eastward across Siberia. At last they reached the Pacific coast, and this led Russia into difficulties with Japan, as you will read later on.

Besides this, Russia continued her movement southward towards Afghanistan and the frontier of India. There had already been war between Britain and Afghanistan in 1841, because the Afghans were making arrangements with Russian representatives with which Britain did not agree. We suffered badly in that war, and for many years we left Afghanistan alone. But in 1877 the Russians again sent representatives to Afghanistan, and we declared war again on the Afghan ruler. Britain was more successful in this Second Afghan War, mostly because of the great exploits of Sir Frederick Roberts (afterwards Lord Roberts), who died in the early days of the Great War. So trouble with Russia was put off, but she continued to strengthen her

Empire all along the northern boundaries of India and China.

The other powers of Europe at this time were mostly interested in Africa as the country in which they could best set up an Empire. Africa had always been called the "Dark Continent," because no Europeans had explored the interior of it, and very little was known about it. The North of Africa, of course, had been part of the Roman Empire, and had been conquered by the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries. During the Age of Discovery the Portuguese had set up posts along the coast on their way to India. But in the seventeenth century the Dutch began to dispute the rights of the Portuguese on the African coast. Parts of this coast were already being raided for negro slaves to be sent over to America. To South Africa the Dutch went not as traders, but as settlers. They established a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, which was taken over by the British at the end of the Napoleonic War. There was much trouble here towards the end of the nineteenth century, and about this you will read in Chapter 18.

About the middle of the nineteenth century missionaries and explorers began to enter the heart of Africa. Among these was the great Englishman, David Livingstone, who first went to Africa in 1840. Later he was lost, but was afterwards found by a famous American named Stanley, who also discovered the course of the River Congo and explored the Great Lakes of Central Africa between 1871 and 1877. The result of this was that several countries in Europe became interested in Africa. King Leopold II of Belgium formed an Association among the nations of Europe for the exploration and civilisation of Africa. But this Association really became



a sort of company, and all it wanted to do was to make money out of the enormous riches of Central Africa.

Meanwhile France had carried out the conquest of Algeria, which formed most of the north-west quarter of Africa. Spain, Italy and Germany also took a hand in this "Rush for Empire," and soon Africa was parcelled out among various European states. In 1884 there was a meeting in Berlin among the states concerned, and at this meeting various boundaries were agreed upon. In this way Africa ceased to be the "Dark Continent." But the Europeans did not do much to civilise the natives. Instead, they simply used them for profit. All the same, it was necessary for Europe that such a great area should be opened up, and this story of Africa is very important in the history of the last fifty years. The part that Britain played in Africa we shall have to speak of in the next few chapters.

SUMMARY

The revolt of Bosnia against the Turks in 1875 was followed in 1876 by war between the Turks and Servia and Montenegro. When the Bulgarians revolted against the Turks they were massacred, and in 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey. By the peace Bulgaria was made a large independent kingdom under Russian protection, but at the Congress of Berlin (1878) other states of Europe forced a new treaty. By this Bulgaria was divided, and Servia, Montenegro and Rumania were made independent kingdoms. Meanwhile, Russia was spreading her power across Siberia and towards India. The other powers of Europe opened up Africa and divided it between them.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections study respectively the attitude of Russia, Turkey and Britain over the Eastern Question at this time. (Europe

since *Waterston*, by E. Levett, *Outlines of European History*, by M. O. Davis, or *Junior History of Europe*, by D. K. Gordon, will help you) Compare notes.

2 Debate whether Turkey in Europe should be divided as Russia wanted it in 1877 or as the Congress of Berlin carried it out in 1878

3 Class in sections prepare notes on various powers (e.g. France, Belgium, Germany, Britain) in Africa in the late nineteenth century (see *Africa* in "Adventures of Exploration Series" by Keltie and Gilmour) Compare notes

4 Prepare a community map of Africa, showing the division among the powers

EXERCISES

1 Read a life of Livingstone (e.g. B. Matthews *Livingstone, the Pathfinder*, Mrs R. Charles *David Livingstone* or S. S. Starratt *Livingstone the Pioneer*) and write a short sketch of his character and career

2 Make a map of the Balkans showing what happened in 1878

3 Examine the map of Africa showing the division among European states and compare it with a map showing how much of it had been opened up by 1870

4 Write notes and collect pictures on some aspect of African exploration in the nineteenth century (*Heroes of Exploration*, by A. J. Ker and E. H. Cleaver, will help you)

- DISRAELI AND THE EMPIRE -

BRITAIN AND THE SUEZ CANAL

THE events in the Balkans, about which you have just read, occurred during the period in which Disraeli was Prime Minister for the second time. This period of six years lasted from 1874 to 1880. In 1876 Disraeli became Lord Beaconsfield, and took his seat in the House of Lords, but from there he continued his work as head of the Government. Disraeli's great idea was to make Britons see the importance of the Empire. He felt that Britain's greatness was really as an Imperial power, and that she should give much more thought to her Empire than she had given, and especially to India. It was because of this that in 1877 he sent instructions to the Viceroy of India to proclaim Queen Victoria as Empress of India. This action made no real difference to the government of India, which had been settled by the Act of 1858 following the Indian Mutiny. But it made many Indians, and especially the native princes, look up more to Britain, for it made them feel that the Queen of Great Britain was interested in their welfare.

Disraeli's actions even before this showed how important he thought our Eastern Empire was. One of these actions was connected with the Suez Canal. The cutting of the Suez Canal was one of the greatest feats of engineering in the nineteenth century. A great French engineer, named Ferdinand de Lesseps, planned the construction of this artificial waterway through the narrow



"NEW CROWNS FOR OLD ONES!"

Aladdin adapted.

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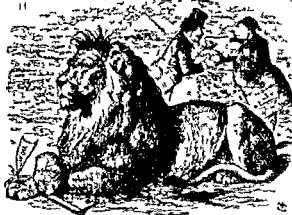
DISRAELI AND THE CROWN OF INDIA

Another of Sir John Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons showing Disraeli persuading the Queen to take the title of Empress of India in 1876. You may remember that in the story of *Aladdin* the Magi are represented here by Disraeli and his colleagues.

New Lamps for Old

neck of land, called the Isthmus of Suez, which joins Africa and Asia. It took ten years, from 1859 to 1869, to construct, for it is 100 miles long. When it was completed, ships could pass direct from the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. This through-route did away with the need for unloading goods from ships at Alexandria and carrying them overland to be reshipped at Suez. This had been the commonest way of carrying goods from Europe to the East and from eastern countries to Europe, for very few ships by that time went right round the Cape of Good Hope in order to get to eastern parts of the world.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was all a part of the great advance made in methods of travel and communication that we have spoken of before, and you can imagine what an enormous difference it made. A company was formed to carry out the work of the canal, and most of the shares in the company were held by Frenchmen and by the ruler of Egypt. This ruler was known as the Khedive. Egypt was really Turkish territory, and the Khedive was supposed to be a sort of Viceroy for the Sultan of Turkey. But during the nineteenth century the Khedive made himself almost independent of the Sultan. The Khedive soon got himself into money difficulties, and to help himself out of them he was ready to sell his Suez Canal shares. In 1875 Disraeli arranged to buy these shares for Britain, and he paid the Khedive £4,000,000 for them. So now Britain was the chief owner of the canal. This was a very good stroke of business on Disraeli's part, for quite three-quarters of the ships that passed through the canal were British.



THE LION'S SHARE.

GRO. & SON, 14, MARK LANE.

[Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors of "Punch"]

DISRAELI PURCHASING THE SUEZ CANAL SHARES

Another Tenniel cartoon from *Punch* in which the artist shows Disraeli handing the Khedive £4,000,000. The lion which represents Britain is holding the key to India which means the Suez Canal. The lion's share means the largest share. The French words mean "Beware who touches it!" (India). Notice the Pyramids at the back.

"PEACE WITH HONOUR"

When Britain became part-owner of the Suez Canal she became much more interested in the Eastern Mediterranean and especially in Egypt. Up to that time the European country chiefly interested in Egypt was France. Ever since the days when Napoleon had tried to conquer the country, Frenchmen had played an important part in Egypt's affairs. That was how it came about that a Frenchman constructed the Suez Canal. But now that Britain had such a great share in owning the canal, she

began to see how important Egypt was. Also it made Britain see that Russia would now be an even greater danger if she controlled the Balkans and perhaps captured Constantinople. That was why Disraeli interfered when Russia made her treaty with Turkey after the war of 1877. He sent a fleet to Constantinople, and he made Russia come to the Congress of Berlin, which upset all her plans for controlling Bulgaria.

It was not easy for Disraeli to do this, because many Englishmen felt that we should do nothing to help the Turks, who had treated the Bulgarians so atrociously. At the time when the Turks carried out their massacre of the Bulgarians, Gladstone had retired into private life, and it was thought that he would never take part in the government again. But when this terrible massacre occurred, Gladstone suddenly reappeared and made speeches all over the country, crying out against the "Unspeakable Turks." Many people agreed with him, and Disraeli told the country that he did not mean to help the Turks, but only to look after the interests of the British Empire. When the Treaty of Berlin was signed and Russia was kept out of the Balkans, Disraeli felt that he had saved the Empire from a great danger without Britain having to go to war. This he called "Peace with Honour."

During Disraeli's second period as Prime Minister there were difficulties in Ireland, as well as in more distant parts of the world. In 1877 Britain made war on Afghanistan, as you read in the last chapter. Also South Africa caused a good deal of trouble, as you will read in Chapter 18. Gladstone and the Liberals said that these troubles were caused by Disraeli's ideas about the Empire, and they made many speeches throughout the country attacking the Conservatives. The result was that

when a General Election took place in 1880, the Liberals gained a majority over the Conservatives, and Gladstone became Prime Minister again. Disraeli was never again Prime Minister, for he died in the following year.

TROUBLE IN EGYPT

Gladstone declared that he would stop all these adventures abroad. He promised that the country should have peace, and so save money which had been so freely spent during the last few years. But too many difficulties had been left behind, and, instead of peace, wars had to be fought in various places. In Egypt the Khedive's Government was getting into still greater money difficulties. His debts to other people became so large that he announced that he could not afford to pay them. The people to whom he mostly owed money were the British and the French. So in 1879 the British and French Governments decided to take control of affairs themselves. They deposed the Khedive and put his son on the Egyptian throne instead. They then took over the management of Egypt's money affairs.

The new Khedive was quite ready to let foreigners look after his affairs. But many Egyptians were discontented, and one of them, named Arabi Pasha, led a revolt in 1882, crying "Egypt for the Egyptians!" He and his followers seized the Khedive and began fortifying the city of Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile. A British fleet appeared and ordered Arabi to stop fortifying the city. The French would not help, and when Arabi refused the fleet's request, it bombarded Alexandria, and the British took possession of it. Arabi now retired and gathered his men ready for a war. British troops began to arrive from Britain and India, and, led by Sir Garnet

Wolseley, they captured Cairo, the Egyptian capital, and Arabi and his followers, and restored the Khedive to his throne.

THE TRAGEDY OF GENERAL GORDON

So a British army now occupied Egypt. Gladstone hated all this bloodshed and wanted to be done with it. But he could not now give up Egypt without causing still more bloodshed. So he left a British army there, promising to end the occupation as soon as he could when order was restored. Shortly afterwards, in 1883, there was a rising of wild Muhammadans to the south of Egypt in the Sudan. The rebels were led by monks or dervishes, and their leader called himself the prophet or Mahdi. A force which marched to crush this rising was badly beaten, and Gladstone made up his mind to give up the Sudan. So in 1885 he sent General Gordon to carry out the withdrawal of the British troops. But the Mahdi and his followers forced Gordon to take refuge in Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, and besieged him there. Before help could reach him he had to surrender, and he and his force were massacred by the wild forces of the Mahdi. The death of Gordon was a terrible blow to the British people, for he was a fine soldier and a very good man. But no attempt was made to conquer the Sudan until after Gladstone's death. In 1898 Lord Kitchener destroyed the power of the dervishes and the Sudan became British.

But Gladstone did all he could to keep the British rule from being too harsh. Under this rule Egyptians were allowed to help in the government, and British engineers showed them how to use the waters of the Nile for power,



GORDON'S LAST MESSENGER

The artist shows the hopelessness of Gordon's position in Khartoum in 1885

on the land. During the Great War, when Turkey joined Germany against the Allies, Great Britain declared that Egypt was no longer Turkish territory, and since the war Britain has handed over the government to Egypt, which now has its own King and Prime Minister, though Britain still has control of the Sudan.

So Gladstone was forced to carry on the plan begun by Disraeli. But he did not want to do this. The tragedy of General Gordon made Gladstone's Government much disliked, and in the same year (1885) he ceased to be Prime Minister. But he was Prime Minister again in the following year, when there occurred events connected with Ireland which had amazing results for the Liberal Party. Of these events you must now read.

SUMMARY

Disraeli's interest in the Empire led him in 1875 to purchase the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal (opened in 1869) and to take

part in the Congress of Berlin (1878). In 1879 Gladstone inherited from Disraeli troubles in Egypt. The British and French Governments replaced the Khedive by his son and took charge of his affairs. But some Egyptians, led by Arabi Pasha, revolted in 1882, and the British were forced to crush them and occupy Egypt. In 1883 the Muhammadan dervishes of the Sudan revolted under the Mahdi. In 1885 General Gordon was besieged and massacred in Khartoum, and not until 1898 was the power of the dervishes destroyed. Gladstone fell in 1885, but returned as Prime Minister in the following year.

GROUP WORK

1. Prepare a passage for reading to the class from *The Dash for Khartoum or With Kitchener in the Sudan*, by H. G. Henty.
2. Prepare notes for a short speech by Disraeli in defence of his action at the Congress of Berlin or by Gladstone on the Bulgarian atrocities (the "Unspeakable Turk").
3. Class in three sections study the history of Egypt, from the time of Napoleon, from the British, French and Egyptian points of view respectively. (Any Imperial history book—e.g. G. Guest's *An Imperial History of England*—will help you.) Compare notes.
4. Class in four sections prepare and compare notes on the revolt of Arabi Pasha, the revolt of the Mahdi, the loss of Khartoum and the recapture of the Sudan. (See books mentioned in 3 above and in Exercise 4 below.)

EXERCISES

1. Study a picture of the Suez Canal, and compare it with one of the Panama Canal.
2. Imagine yourself one of the builders of the Suez Canal and write your impressions.
3. What advantages has Britain gained from Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares?
4. Write a short character-sketch of Gordon or Kitchener. (Mrs. R. Charles's *Charles George Gordon* and J. A. Williamson's *Builders of the Empire* will help you.)

GLADSTONE AND IRELAND

CHURCH AND LAND IN IRELAND

BEFORE Gladstone fell in 1885, Parliament passed a new Act connected with voting for Parliament. You will remember that the Act that was carried by Disraeli in 1867 gave the vote to all men living in towns who paid £10 a year in rent. In 1884 Gladstone brought in a Bill to give the vote to men paying the same rent in the country districts. Besides this, another Bill was introduced making the areas in which men voted more equal to one another, so that small areas with large populations could have more representatives than large areas with small populations. The two Acts were passed almost together in 1884 and 1885. In this way one more step was taken in giving ordinary people a share in the government. The Reform Act of 1832 had made the manufacturers and capitalists the most powerful section of the people of Britain, but by the Acts of 1867 and 1885 the workmen and ordinary folk became very powerful also. So democracy, or government by the people, was much nearer than it had ever been before. Further Acts were passed in the twentieth century, giving more and more people the vote, and you will read about these in a later chapter.

In 1886 there took place the first General Election in which the new voters took part. The Liberals gained more places in Parliament than the Conservatives, but not nearly so many as Gladstone had hoped for as a result of his giving the vote to the labourers in the country. But



PEASANTS IN WESTERN IRELAND

Scenes in County Mayo at the time of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill (1886).
Notice the dress and the buildings

of whom did not live in Ireland at all, but in England. The rent for land was very high, because so many people wanted it. The tenants who carried out improvements on their farms had no payment made for them by the landlords, as tenants had in England. So you see the Irish had much cause for complaint. Gladstone had tried to grapple with these two Irish difficulties during his first period as Prime Minister. In 1869 he passed an Act which took away from the Protestant Church of Ireland its official position and its wealth. Part of the money thus gained was paid to the clergy for their loss, and the rest was used to help those who were suffering from poverty and distress in Ireland.

DAYS OF DEMOCRACY

PARNELL AND IRISH HOME RULE

In this way Gladstone tried to do religious justice to the Irish people. But when he turned to the question of the land he had greater difficulty. In 1870 he passed the Irish Land Act, which said that landlords must make a payment to tenants as compensation for improvements they had made, if the landlords took the land back. The Irish were not satisfied with this, and discontent and disorder followed. While Disraeli was Prime Minister the party in Parliament demanding Irish Home Rule became really strong. They found a great leader in a remarkable man named Charles Stewart Parnell. The strange thing about him was that he was of English origin and was not a Roman Catholic, but a Protestant. He had none of those qualities which Irishmen often possess, like eloquence and excitability. But he hated England and he had such unusual powers as a leader that the Catholic Irish Members of Parliament followed him without question in all the plans he made for helping on the cause of Irish liberty. Also he became a sort of hero with the peasant people of Ireland, who were ready to do anything for him. Parnell's chief plan was to cause such difficulties in Parliament that it would do what he asked. The Irish members made long speeches and caused disorders so that it should be impossible for the ordinary business of Parliament to be done. But Disraeli did nothing for them, and his failure to deal with the Irish trouble helped to cause his fall in 1880.

As soon as Gladstone was Prime Minister again he passed another Act to help the Irish peasants on the land. But by this time the Irish were beginning to think that they could frighten the Government into doing more. They



Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914)

TWO GREAT OPPONENTS—THE LEADER OF THE IRISH HOME
RULERS AND THE LEADER OF THE LIBERAL UNIONISTS

now hoped to abolish landlords altogether. To help this aim they had in 1879 formed themselves into a society called the Land League. This soon had branches all over Ireland. The members of the Land League decided to pay no rent to landlords until the Government should do what they wanted. When the Government declared this refusal to pay rent to be unlawful, several Irishmen began to use violence. Murders and other outrages took place, and in 1882 these terrible crimes reached their height, when an English statesman and his secretary were murdered in broad daylight by some ruffians in Phoenix Park, in Dublin. The English people were horrified at this, and they thought Gladstone was right in using strong measures to arrest and punish severely all those who took part in

such terrible acts. Parnell and his followers did not support those who were guilty of outrages, but he said that things would only get worse if the Government used force against the Irish.

GLADSTONE'S HOME RULE BILLS

Gladstone had done all he could so far for the Irish people, but in 1886 he realised he must go farther. He believed that nothing less than Home Rule would settle the Irish question, and, besides, the Home Rule Party in Parliament under Parnell was now in a very strong position, and would not give way. So Gladstone began to prepare a Bill to set up an Irish Parliament again in Dublin. This Parliament was to govern Ireland in all matters except those connected with the army, imports and exports, and foreign affairs. Ireland also was to pay something from her taxes towards the expenses of the British Government. Many members of the Liberal Party disagreed with Gladstone over this, and some members of his Cabinet resigned rather than follow him. The chief of these members was Joseph Chamberlain, who set to work to form a new party, called Liberal-Unionists, because they believed in the union of the Empire and would not agree to any part of it being allowed to break away from the whole. This party really followed the teaching of Disraeli, and in the end joined with the Conservatives, who are now known also as Unionists.

When Gladstone brought in his Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons nearly one hundred Liberals voted with the Conservatives against it, and so it was not passed. In the General Election which followed very few of Gladstone's party were elected. Most of the Liberal-Unionists were elected, and so Gladstone ceased to be Prime Minister.



THE FINISH

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GLADSTONE'S HOME RULE BILL DEFEATED IN 1886

A Punch cartoon from June 17 showing Lord Salisbury, the leader of the Conservative Party, winning the race against Gladstone, who was running in favour of Irish Home Rule. Notice the Union Jack on the shirt of the winner.

and Lord Salisbury, as leader of the Conservative Party, took his place. So the Home Rule question in 1886 broke up the Liberal Party, led by Gladstone, just as forty years before the Corn Law question had broken up the Conservative Party, led by Peel. Gladstone had built up the Liberal Party from those who followed Peel in 1846, and now that he was an old man, nearly eighty years of age, he saw one hundred of his followers leave him. But he continued to sit in Parliament, and looked forward to the day when he would be able to pass a Home Rule Act.

It was six years before he became Prime Minister again, and during this time Parnell had to give up the leadership of the Home Rulers, and in 1891 he died. In 1892 Gladstone, at the age of eighty-three, became Prime Minister again for the last time. He still wanted to pass a Home Rule Act for Ireland, and he thought this would be the last great act of his life. This time it passed the House of Commons, because the Irish Party, added to the Liberals, were strong enough to beat the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists, who voted against it. But when the Bill came to be passed by the House of Lords they refused to agree to it, and threw it out. In this way Gladstone's second attempt to pass an Act to give Ireland Home Rule failed. The Irish, of course, remained unsatisfied, but they could not do much in Parliament now, as the Irish Party was no longer united, since it had lost Parnell as a leader.

In 1894 Gladstone retired and in 1898 he died. He had led a wonderful life given to the work of governing the country. The Liberal Party, already broken by the struggle over Home Rule, became weaker and weaker without Gladstone. In 1895 the voters of the country gave the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists a large majority in the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury



ARMING

"WARRIOR THE LITTLE BAY'S TASK IS DONE"

Adapted and Illustrated by J. Tenniel

Illustrated by J. Tenniel

GLADSTONE'S RETIREMENT IN 1894

Sir John Tenniel's finest cartoon showing Gladstone as a knight of the Middle Ages removing his armour and hanging up the sword of the leadership of the Liberal Party which he had held for nearly thirty years. He was then 84 years old.

became Prime Minister again, and some of the Liberal-Unionists became Ministers. Among these was Joseph Chamberlain, who, as Minister for the Colonies, played an important part in the events of the next few years connected with South Africa, as you will read in the next chapter.

So Gladstone's fight for Home Rule had done nothing for Ireland and had broken the Liberal Party in two. For ten years, from 1895 to 1905, the Liberals remained weak and out of power. Under a Conservative Prime Minister nothing was done about the Irish question, for soon the country was busy with other matters. But the Irish were not content with this dropping of their complaints against injustice. Later on the struggle started again in a much worse form, and in the end, as you will see, the British Government had to give the Irish people far more than Gladstone had ever suggested in his Home Rule Bills.

SUMMARY

The Irish people were very dissatisfied under the Act of Union of 1800, and a party grew up demanding Home Rule. Gladstone had carried out reforms in Ireland connected with the Church (1869) and the land (1870 and 1880). The Irish found a new leader in Charles Stewart Parnell, and founded the Land League (1879). This led to outrages and murders, including the Phoenix Park murders in 1882. In 1886 Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill, but this broke the Liberal Party into two, and it did not pass. In 1894, when Gladstone was a very old man, his second Home Rule Bill passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the Lords. Gladstone then retired, and died in 1898.

GROUP WORK

1. Prepare notes for a speech by Mr. Gladstone on Irish Home Rule. (See *Imperialism and Mr. Gladstone* in "English History Source Books"—Bell.)

2. Class in sections study Ireland in the nineteenth century, England's attitude to Ireland in the same period, the growth of the Home Rule Party in Ireland, and the life of Parnell, respectively (C Maxwell's *A Short History of Ireland*, B Home's *Ireland* and A Birkhead's *Tales from Irish History* will help) Compare notes.
3. Debate whether Ireland should have Home Rule in 1886 or 1894

EXERCISES

1. Write a character-sketch of Parnell (Use one of the books mentioned above or an encyclopedia)
2. Imagine yourself an Irish peasant at this time, and write an account of your home and method of living (The pictures on p. 177 will help you)
3. Would you have followed Gladstone or Chamberlain in 1886? Give reasons.
4. Study the cartoon on p. 183 and write a short composition on Gladstone's retirement in 1894



THE SOUTH AFRICAN WARS

THE BOERS AND THE "GREAT TREK"

WE said in the last chapter that one part of the Empire with which both Disraeli and Gladstone were concerned was South Africa. South Africa is different from the other parts of Africa in the sense that it is a suitable place for white men to settle and work in. It is, therefore, the sort of land in which a true colony can be set up. Other parts of Africa, as we said in Chapter 15, have been opened up by Europeans, but, being tropical or sub-tropical, they are not suitable for whole colonies of white men. White men only go there to use native labour in order to increase the wealth of Europe and use the great resources that Africa possesses. But even South Africa was different from North America as an area for white colonisation, for there was and is a large native population in South Africa, whereas in North America the Red Indian natives were very small in numbers compared with the enormous extent of land on which they lived.

All the same, South Africa is an excellent land for the settlement of Europeans, and in the seventeenth century it was occupied by a body of Dutch colonists, at the time when the Dutch were increasing their sea-power and driving the Portuguese from many of their posts in Africa and India. These colonists settled down on the land round the Cape of Good Hope as farmers, and were therefore known as Boers, which is the Dutch word for farmers. They had a very hard life, and they often had to struggle with the

natives in order to hold on to their land. Gradually they lost touch with Holland and went quietly on with their work, and nobody in Europe interfered with them.

But you will remember that the Cape of Good Hope became British by the treaty which ended the war with Napoleon in 1815. From the year 1820 British colonists also began to settle there, and the Boers did not like this after having been left alone for so long. Their ideas were quite different from those of the British. They were very religious and strict about church going. They knew little about the changes going on in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most important of all, they had imported negro slaves from other parts of Africa and when the British Government abolished slavery throughout the Empire in 1833 the Boers were bitterly opposed to letting their slaves go. So in 1836 they decided to move away from British control altogether. They got their families, their cattle and their household goods together, and began moving slowly north eastwards, carrying their goods and their young children in ox wagons. This movement showed the wonderful pluck and grit of these brave people, for they had to face all sorts of terrors from wild animals and natives. Some moved into the area called Natal, others crossed the Orange River and called their country the Orange Free State, and yet others went still farther north across the River Vaal and called their country the Transvaal. These movements altogether lasted about sixteen years (1836-52) and were known as "treks," the first, in 1836, being called the "Great Trek."

THE ZULUS AND THE FIRST BOER WAR

Each of these three states—Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal—set up a government of its own



Paul Kruger (1825-1904). President of the South African (the Transvaal) Republic (1881-1901).

Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). Founder of Rhodesia and the Cape to Cairo Railway.

[N.P.G., London.]

TWO GREAT SOUTH AFRICANS.

with a president elected by the people, and was therefore a republic, the Transvaal being known as the South African Republic. But even after this they could not keep themselves free from the British. The British settlers rapidly moved into Natal, until there were more British than Boers there, and in 1843 Natal was made a British colony, like the first one, Cape Colony. The Orange Free State was for a time placed under British rule, but by 1852 both the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were recognised by the British as independent republics. But the Transvaal, or South African Republic, was in a very dangerous position, because in its south-eastern corner it touched the land inhabited by wild native tribes called Zulus and Basutos.



Lord Roberts (1832-1914) British
Commander in Chief of the Second
South African War (1899-1902)

Cetewayo (1839-1884) King of
the Zulus at the time of the Zulu
War (1879)

TWO GREAT FIGHTERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 1877 a great Zulu leader, named Cetewayo, appeared. The representative of the British Government in South Africa thought that the Zulus would overrun the Transvaal. So he declared that the Transvaal was placed under British rule, for in this way he thought he could more easily deal with the Zulus.

In 1879 there was a Zulu War in which the Boers were glad enough to have British help. The Zulus were defeated, but as soon as the war was over the Boers sent to London demanding their freedom again. Gladstone had just become Prime Minister once more, and he refused to allow the Transvaal its independence. Then the Boers, led by a man named Paul Kruger, made war on the British.

in 1880. In 1881 the Boers badly defeated the British in two battles, and Gladstone decided to give the Transvaal its freedom again, in order to save further bloodshed. So ended the First South African War. But from that time bitterness between the Boers and the British grew. The Boers thought that Gladstone's action in returning them their freedom meant that the British were too weak to stand against them, and they began to look forward to the day when they would reconquer the whole of South Africa.

In 1886 one of the richest gold mines in the world was discovered in the Transvaal, and a gold rush began. Thousands of British settled in the Transvaal and built up the town of Johannesburg. The Boers, ruling from their capital at Pretoria, hated these strangers, whom they called "Outlanders," and refused to give them any rights. But the numbers of the "Outlanders" grew to such an extent, owing to the lure of gold, that they demanded a share in the Government. But the Boers, under President Kruger, continued to refuse. Not only the "Outlanders" in the Transvaal, but the British in Cape Colony were interested in this question. Among the British leaders in Cape Colony was a wealthy colonist named Cecil Rhodes, who was the first man to work for the building of the Cape to Cairo Railway from the extreme south to the extreme north of Africa. He was now very anxious that British power should remain supreme in South Africa. Another leader was Dr. Jameson, who, with several followers, made a raid on Johannesburg in 1895. But he was defeated and captured. After that the Boers made active preparations, and in 1899 the Second South African War broke out.

THE SECOND BOER WAR

This war was due to the refusal of the Boers of the Transvaal to allow the vast numbers of British settlers in their land any share in the government. The Orange Free State had nothing to do with this but they joined the Boers of the Transvaal as their allies. At this time the British Minister for the Colonies in Lord Salisbury's Cabinet was Joseph Chamberlain who had led the Liberal Unionists when they broke away from Gladstone over the Irish Home Rule Question. He was now determined to maintain the rights of the British Empire in South Africa. But he thought it was going to be an easier matter to crush the Boers than it turned out to be. In the early months of the war the Boers defeated the British in several pitched battles and the people at home began to realise that we must either make peace with the Boers or settle down to a long and costly war with them.

Many people in England thought that such a war was unjust to the little Dutch republics in South Africa but others supported the Government in its determination to win. Millions of pounds were spent and thousands of soldiers were enlisted. Many of these were volunteers, drawn not only from England but from all parts of the Empire. Lord Roberts whom we mentioned in speaking of the Second Afghan War, was sent out as Commander in Chief, and later on Lord Kitchener was sent from Egypt to help him. The Boers fought bravely and found one or two capable leaders, but the tide began to turn against them. Towns in which the British had been besieged were relieved. Among these was the town of Mafeking, which had been defended for many months by the famous leader, Baden Powell, who afterwards founded the Boy



WELCOMING LORD KITCHENER IN LONDON IN 1902.

Showing the reception given to the General on his return from the South African War (1899-1902). Lord Kitchener is sitting on the right (as you look at the picture), facing the horses. By his side is Lord Roberts. Notice the soldiers' uniform of the period.

Scouts. Then, in the middle of 1900, the Boers were forced to surrender the Transvaal capital, Pretoria, and everyone thought the war was over. But for nearly two years the Boer troops continued to attack the British, under one or two extraordinary commanders. These bands wandered round the country fighting what is called guerrilla warfare. It was a long and expensive business to put these forces down, and it was not until 1902 that the Boers asked for peace.

By the treaty which ended the war the Boers were promised the right of governing themselves under the British Crown, but there was much settling to be done

before this could be arranged. The Conservative Government which carried on the war made this promise, but hardly had time to carry it out before they fell from power and had to give way to the Liberals.

SUMMARY

In the seventeenth century Dutch farmers, or Boers, settled in South Africa. After 1815, when the Cape became British, British colonists settled there, and the Boers, objecting to the abolition of slavery (1833) "trekked" eastward and northward, founding republics in Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (1836-52). The British later took charge of the Transvaal, owing to trouble with the Zulus. After the Zulu War (1879) the Boers declared war on the British (1880-1) and were given their independence again. The discovery of gold brought many British (called "Outlanders" by the Boers) into the Transvaal, and trouble between them and the Boers led to the Second Boer War (1899-1902) after which the Boers were granted self government under the British Crown.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in four sections study the history of the colonisation of South Africa by the Dutch and the British, and the First and Second Boer Wars, respectively. (See *The Romantic Story of South Africa* by O. Zachariah.)

2. Class in six sections prepare and compare notes on the lives of Cecil Rhodes, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener (these two in connection with the Boer War), Paul Kruger, Louis Botha and General Smuts.

3. Debate whether the Transvaal and the Orange Free State should be given self government after the Second South African War.

4. Read to the class a passage from a history of South Africa or from G. A. Henty's *The Young Colonist*.

EXERCISES

1. Make a map of South Africa, showing the four provinces, British and Dutch.

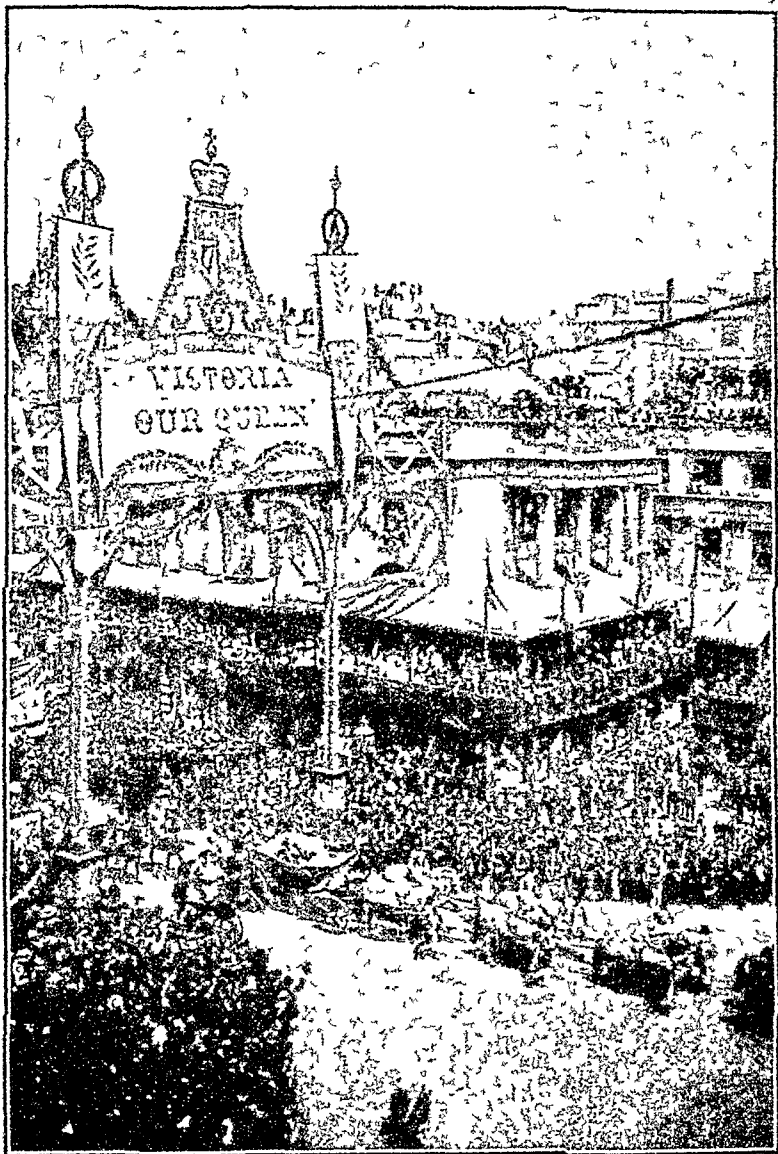
2. Imagine yourself a Boer on the "Great Trek," and give an account of your adventures. (H. E. Marshall's *South Africa's Story* will help you for this and the next two questions.)

3. Explain the causes of the Second South African War.

4. Find out more about one of the following: the establishment of the Transvaal, the Jameson Raid, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, the building up of Johannesburg, the relief of Mafeking, and guerrilla warfare by the Boers after the fall of Pretoria.

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

IN 1901, towards the end of the Second South African War, Queen Victoria died after a wonderful reign lasting sixty four years. Many things had happened during this long period, and great changes had taken place. We generally think of these events as connected with the life of Queen Victoria, and so this period is often spoken of as the Victorian Age. The Queen had begun her reign as a young woman of eighteen, and she died as a very old lady of eighty two. At first people had wondered whether she would be able to overcome the difficulties of the part she had to play in the government of the country. But as the years went by the British people realised how splendidly the Queen learned to play that part. In 1840 she married her cousin, a German prince of the Saxe Coburg family, named Albert. As the Queen's husband, he was known as the Prince Consort. He helped her greatly in the various duties she had to carry out. Their married life was very happy, and they had several children. Unfortunately he died in 1861, while still a young man, and the Queen never really got over her grief. But she became more and more a favourite of the people, and when she celebrated her Jubilee in 1887, after reigning fifty years, there were great public rejoicings. After another ten years she celebrated her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 and the rejoicings were even greater. You may imagine how grieved the country was at her death. For a long time, in fact, people found it hard to realise that the



QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE, 1887.

Showing the royal carriage in the procession passing through a London street.

Queen was no longer on the throne, although she was succeeded by her son, Edward VII, who was a very popular King.

Queen Victoria had seen many great changes in the life of the nation. First, she had seen great improvements in the way people lived. All through her reign the population was increasing, as industry and trade developed. With the coming of Free Trade, after the abolition of the Corn Laws and the removal of all the old restrictions, there was great prosperity in many industries. Many people became so wealthy that they wished to invest their money, and so all sorts of new companies sprang up. Also new banks came into existence to deal with the money people wished to save. The Bank of England had many rights that the new banks were not allowed. In 1844 an Act was passed called the Bank Charter Act which dealt with the power of the Bank of England to issue banknotes. After this Act no new bank was allowed to issue notes at all, but there was still plenty of business in borrowing and lending to be done without that right.

Free Trade had grown out of the idea that it was wiser to let men look after their own interests than to have all kinds of government interference. But this idea did not help the workers very much. While employers of labour were allowed to do as they liked, they did not care much about the conditions in which people worked. The state of factories became so bad that the Government had to interfere by passing Factory Acts. We have mentioned earlier those passed in 1833 and 1844, which prevented women and children from being overworked. There were further acts during Victoria's reign dealing with bad conditions not only in factories and mines, but also in trades like tailoring and dress making. These acts gradually



Charles Dickens (1812-1870).

Lord Tennyson (1809-1892).

A great novelist and a great poet of the Victorian Age.

reduced the hours of labour, and forced employers to give their work-people decent and safe conditions to work in.

TRADE UNIONS AND EDUCATION

The workers were also troubled by the state of the law concerning their right to form trade unions. The Act of 1824 allowed men to combine together to get better wages and working conditions, but it did not give them the right to strike. Many men were punished for trying to do so during the early years of Victoria's reign. But the trade unions increased in number and size, and in 1867 some workers who did not belong to a union were attacked by trade unionists in Sheffield. As a result of this Parliament took up the question, and in



Then as Carlyle (1795-1881)

Lord Lister 1817-1912

A great author and a great surgeon of the Victorian Age

1871 and 1874 new Acts were passed. The first helped the unions by protecting the money they had collected, and the second said that any action taken by a number of men together was not illegal if the same action taken by one man alone was not against the law. From this time the unions had the full right to strike. Many new unions sprang up, and the members paid money into a fund from which they would receive help when on strike. In 1889 there was a great strike of dockers which led to much better wages and conditions for them. The success of this strike also led to the making of trade unions among unskilled workers. The chief object of these was to collect money, called a strike fund, so that they should be able to strike when necessary. The older trade unions had a good

deal of money invested, and so were cautious about risking its loss, but the new unions of unskilled workers were more active and reckless.

In this way the workers learned the value of standing together. Many of them also now saw, as the Chartists had seen, that if they got members in Parliament it would greatly help them. This is how the Labour Party first began to grow. By the end of Victoria's reign there were a number of men in Parliament who could not have afforded to be there, instead of doing their ordinary work unless they had been kept by the money collected by the trade unions. After the Queen's death, the number of these members became larger and their power greater.

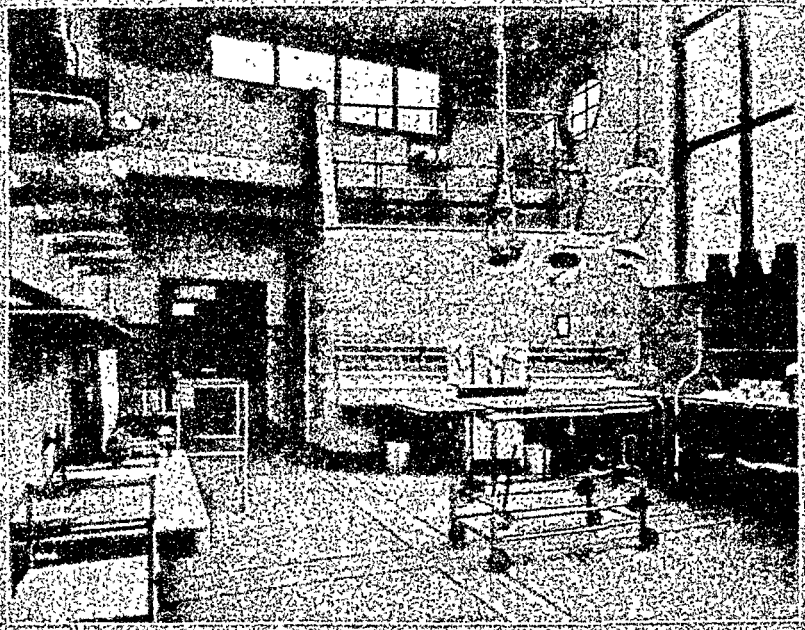
At the same time the working-classes were becoming better educated. The Education Acts of 1870, 1876 and 1891 gave working people all over the country opportunities of learning which they had not had before, for there now had to be an elementary school in every district. The result of the introduction of education for everybody was that people became more interested in the affairs of the country. Newspapers became much more widely read. Cheap magazines and books were published. Life became much more gentle than it had been in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. All this went on from 1870 until Queen Victoria's death in 1901. Then in the following year a new Act was passed which abolished the School Board and handed over their control to the County Council. From that time all sorts of new things have developed in connection with schools, such as the medical care of children. Also there has been a great advance in education after the elementary school age. Evening institutes and other kinds of continuation schools have grown up

while new opportunities were given to clever children to go to secondary schools and universities by means of scholarships

LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND HEALTH

There were plenty of good books for people to read if they wished to during the Victorian Age, for it was a period when much good literature was written. Great novels, by such people as Thackeray, Dickens and George Eliot, appeared. There was also much beautiful poetry by Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Swinburne and many others. Historians, such as Macaulay and Carlyle, and writers about science, such as Darwin and Huxley, also belong to the reign of Victoria. Science, in fact, made great strides during this period and helped to open men's eyes to the wonders of the universe, as well as improving the means of transport and communication and leading to all sorts of new inventions.

Among the greatest improvements of the Victorian Age were those connected with medicine and the conquest of disease. Doctors carried out experiments which helped to save the lives of many people who would have died in earlier days. A French doctor, named Louis Pasteur, and an English doctor, Lord Lister, and others, discovered the causes of many diseases, and their discoveries led to new ways of treating patients in hospitals, where poor people could obtain clean and proper attention. In this way many of the plagues which had carried away thousands of people in earlier times were prevented. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were several outbreaks of the terrible, infectious disease known as cholera. Following one of these outbreaks, an Act, called the Public Health Act, was passed in 1848, and a further Act in 1875.



THE PROGRESS OF HOSPITALS DURING QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN
 The Brompton Hospital, Chatham, in 1856 and the London Hospital in 1900

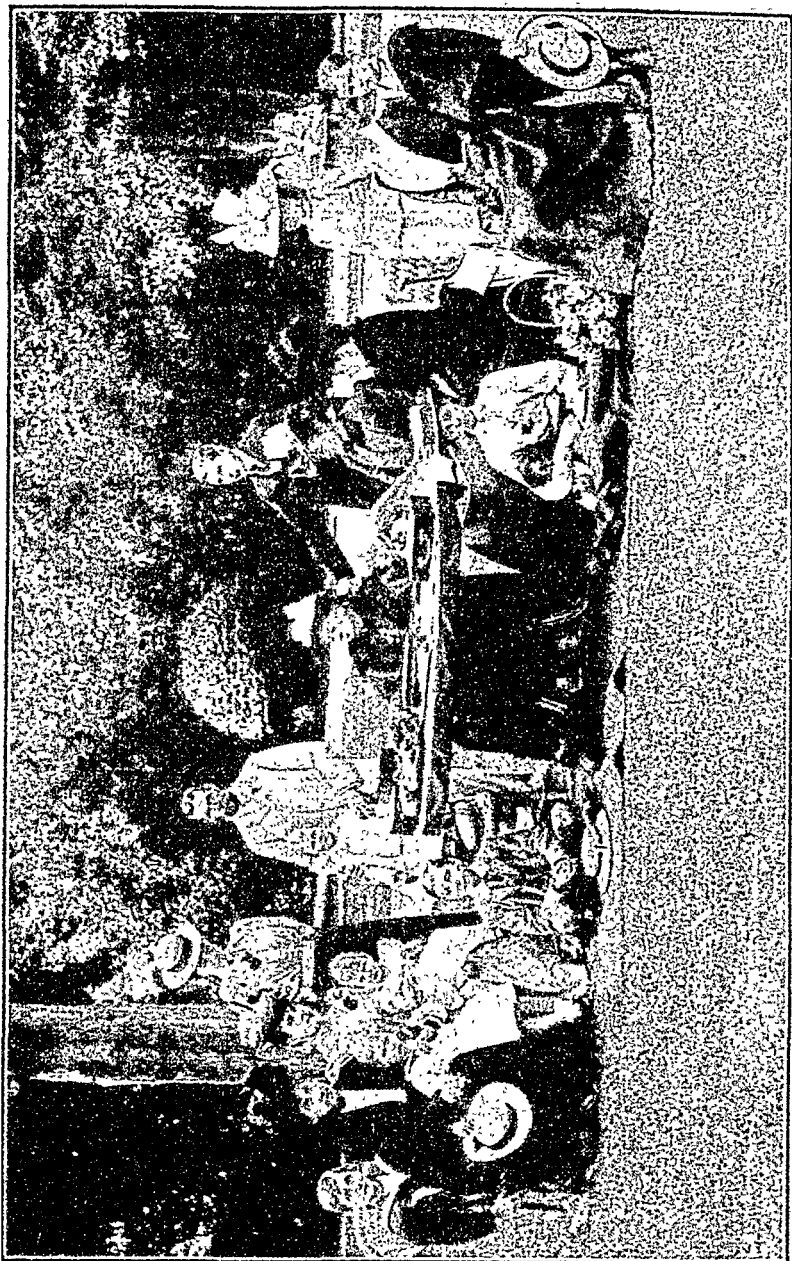
In this way the Government began to enforce regulations for proper sanitation in houses and public buildings. Later, in 1894, a new Act created Parish Councils and Rural and Urban District Councils in various parts of the country, and by another Act of 1899 Borough Councils in London were founded. The chief business of these councils was to look after sanitation, the removal of refuse, and so on. So it came about that Public Health was in a much finer state when Victoria died than it had been when she succeeded to the throne.

The County Councils, such as the London County Council, had been created by an Act of 1888. Their chief business was to arrange for the work of the police, to look after people who were insane and to maintain the roads. Then in 1902, as you have already read, they took charge of education as well. All these duties connected with what is called Local Government were to be paid for by money called "rates" which all householders have to pay, just as they have to pay "taxes" to assist the work of the national government, or the government of the country as a whole. The councils were to be elected by the people just as Parliament was.

You can see from all this, then, how democracy, or government by the people, advanced during the Victorian Age. With better education and better conditions of living, the people took a greater and greater interest and share in their own welfare. But after Queen Victoria's death there was still much to be done in this direction, as you will read later in Chapter 22.

SUMMARY

The reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) is often called the Victorian Age. The Queen married Prince Albert in 1840, and



QUEEN VICTORIA AND MEMBERS OF HER FAMILY AS THEY WERE AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Compare this portrait of the Queen with that given on p. 88. How many people in this group can you recognise?

had a large family. In 1887 she celebrated her Jubilee, and in 1897 her Diamond Jubilee. The Queen saw many changes in the life of the people. The Bank Charter Act (1844) helped commerce and industry. Further Factory Acts improved labour conditions. New Trade Union Acts (1871 and 1874) gave the workers the right to strike (hence the Dockers' Strike of 1889). Trade unionists began to enter Parliament and the Labour Party grew up. The education of the people improved after the Act of 1870. Fine literature (e.g. Thackeray, Dickens, Tennyson and Browning) was produced, and newspapers became more common. Science made great strides, and medicine and public health improved through reforms in Local Government (1848, 1894, 1899).

GROUP WORK

1. Dickens's novels, *Hard Times* and *Oliver Twist*, give a good idea of industrial conditions and the Poor Law at this time. Describe to the class an incident from one of these.

2. Read to the class a passage from a piece of Victorian literature (e.g. a novel by Kingsley, a poem by Tennyson, a piece of historical writing by Macaulay).

3. Class in sections prepare notes on the following aspects of the period: commercial and industrial changes (see H. L. Burrows's *Story of English Industry and Trade*), the growth of trade unions (see E. Hope's *English Life and Labour*), the development of education (see F. W. Tickner's *Schools and Scholars in History*), mechanical improvements (see A. R. Horn's *Age of Machinery*) and public health.

4. From the above make a community chart showing the achievements of the Victorian Age.

5. Add to the above chart notes on parliamentary reform (see Chapters 14 and 17), local government (see also Chapter 8) and the Empire (see Chapter 20).

EXERCISES

1. Write a short life of Queen Victoria (E. G. Browne's *Queen Victoria* will help you).

2. Give a short account of some scientific invention or discovery of Victoria's reign. (Use A. B. Hammond's *Stories of Scientific Discovery* or C. W. Long's *Pioneers of Science and Invention*.)
3. Find out about the development of the government of your own town, borough or area during the reign.
4. Write a short composition suggested by the two pictures on p. 202.

HOME RULE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE GROWTH OF THE BRITISH COLONIES

ONE of the greatest changes carried out during the Victorian Age was that connected with the government of the British Empire. In Chapter 18, you remember, we said that after the Second South African War, in 1902 the Boers were promised the right to govern themselves. This right had already been granted to several other British Colonies, and they had developed greatly under this kind of rule. As this growth of self-government is one of the greatest achievements of the British race, you should try to understand how it began and developed.

The difference between the British Empire and the Empires of other European countries is that Great Britain has colonies in various parts of the world suitable for large bodies of white men to live in, while the other countries have mostly to take charge of areas where they govern native races, as in Africa, the East Indian Islands and South-Eastern Asia. Britain has charge of areas like these too, for example, in India, in the West Indies and in parts of Africa, such as Kenya. It is true, too, that most of the great Imperial states of Europe began by settling bodies of their people in suitable countries. But these colonies either became independent, like the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America, or else they were conquered by Britain, as in the case of the French colony in Canada and the Dutch colonies in North America and South Africa.

Now, Britain lost her most important white colonies when she was forced to give the American Colonies their freedom after the American War of Independence (1775-1783), about which you may remember reading in Book II.¹⁾ She lost those Colonies because a way could not be found to keep them under the British Crown and yet to give the Colonies what they wanted. After the American War of Independence many British people thought that it was of no use to try and hold colonies once they wanted to break away. In fact, some people said that colonies were to the Mother Country like fruit to a tree for when the fruit is ripe it falls off and so would the colonies when they were ripe for freedom. Besides, after Britain had lost her American Colonies she did not seem to have many white colonies left. But she still had Canada and Newfoundland. Shortly afterwards also she was to colonise Australia, and later on New Zealand. Besides these at the end of the Napoleonic War she gained South Africa also.

All these were areas suitable for white men to live and work in, and soon the British proved that they could not help setting up colonies, for no sooner had they lost one Empire than they began to build up another. At the end of the American War Canada was inhabited almost entirely by Frenchmen in the area known as Quebec. When Australia was first settled by the British, it was used only for convicts to serve their period of imprisonment in. When South Africa was taken over by the British, almost the only white men there were Dutch and a few descendants of French Huguenots who had taken refuge there when their Protestant faith was attacked at home. And yet within a few years Britons were going out to find new homes in each of these three areas, as well as in Newfoundland and New Zealand. This new movement to the

colonies brought with it difficult problems in each country concerned, and especially in Canada, where the British and French came into conflict with one another, just as the British and Dutch did in South Africa later on.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

After the War of American Independence there were in the United States a number of men who remained loyal to the British Crown. When they realised that they were not going to have any rights from the new government, they decided to move out of the United States altogether. In this way about 60,000 British went to live in the almost empty land to the south of the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, now called New Brunswick, or else to the area north of the St. Lawrence and to the west of the French in Quebec, which was then known as Upper Canada and was later called Ontario. In a few years the British population in Ontario grew rapidly, and soon trouble came about between them and the French of Quebec. For Quebec was nearer the mouth of the river, and therefore the French held a strong position over the use of it. Besides, the French were Roman Catholics, while most of the British were Protestants.

In 1791 Pitt passed an Act for the government of the two provinces separately. But this did not end their difficulties, and during the next few years the trouble became worse. Between 1815 and 1838 the population of Canada increased by almost 1,000,000. The French of Quebec became dissatisfied with Pitt's Act and also with the British of Ontario. The British of Ontario also demanded more rights from Britain and a greater share in the advantages in trade enjoyed by Quebec because of its position on the river. The Government at home took no notice

of these complaints, and in 1837, the very year of Queen Victoria's accession, both Quebec and Ontario revolted. Both rebellions were soon put down, but it made the Government see that their trouble in Canada was very real. So in 1838 the Government sent out a famous man named Lord Durham as Governor General of Canada. He was to prepare a report on the state of the country. He sent in this report in 1839, and in the following year a new Act was passed for the government of Canada.

The Durham Report, as it was called, turned out to be one of the most important documents in the history of the British Empire. Lord Durham said that the two parts of Canada—Quebec and Ontario—must be united under one government. He said there should be a Parliament and a Cabinet of Ministers, with a Prime Minister, just as there was in Britain. But these Ministers instead of taking their orders from the Government in London, should only do as the Canadian Parliament wished. The Governor-General in Canada was to be in the same position as the Queen in Britain. That meant that he was to choose Ministers from the party with the largest number of members in Parliament. In this way the Canadians should learn to govern themselves.

This sort of government was set up by the Act passed for the government of Canada in 1840. There were certain matters which were still to be dealt with by the Government in London. These matters were trade with the rest of the world, foreign affairs to do with war and peace, and the government of the parts of Canada not yet opened up. Under this Act Canada grew very rapidly, more and more colonists went out, and the population of each part of it increased greatly. Each new Governor-General helped the Canadians to govern themselves by



[Photo by C.P.R.]

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Lord Strathcona, a famous Canadian, driving in the last spike on the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885. The fact that this railway, running right across Canada, was completed by this year, shows how rapidly Canada developed after the making of the Dominion of Canada in 1867.

choosing their Ministers from the party in the Parliament to which the people had given the greatest number of vote in a General Election. Later on, the same kind of government was given to the other parts of Canada, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which had been settled and had grown greatly.

At last the various parts of Canada—Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island—thought they would like to join together in a union. In 1864, while the American Civil War was going on, they held meetings to discuss this, and in 1867 an Act was

passed which created the Dominion of Canada. At first four, and later five, provinces formed this union. They each kept their own government for certain matters, but for all the most important things there was one government over them all. A Parliament was elected by all the Provinces together, and there was a Cabinet of Ministers taken from the Parliament elected. Then, as the Canadians opened up more and more of the country to the west, new provinces were formed and added to the Dominion. After the Act of 1867 railways were rapidly built, and Canada was found to have great resources and wealth. For this reason it has been called the "Land of Promise."

THE SPREAD OF DOMINION HOME RULE

Now, because Canada was the first to have this kind of Home Rule, and because the various parts of Canada joined together in a Dominion, this method of letting the colonies govern themselves is known as Dominion Home Rule. It was so successful in Canada that the same rights were given to other colonies, as they reached the point where they were able to govern themselves. Each separate colony was granted these rights first, and when there were a number of self-governing colonies near one another, they afterwards joined in a union. Sometimes they stood alone, as in the case of Newfoundland, which was granted self-government in 1855. Newfoundland did not join in the Dominion of Canada in 1867, and has never done so since. In the case of Australia, six separate colonies, including Tasmania, grew up. At first, as you remember, the eastern side of Australia was used as a convict settlement, but gradually other parts round the coast were opened up, and explorers from the eastern side, called New South Wales, moved north and south and west, until three



(By permission of Commonwealth of Australia.)

THE SITE OF MELBOURNE IN 1836.

The first settlers on the site of Melbourne, Australia, arrived in 1836.

The city grew rapidly as the capital of the State of Victoria.

separate colonies, Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, grew out of this one. In 1840 an Act of Parliament abolished the use of Australia for convicts, and between 1850 and 1870 each of the five colonies in the large island and also the island of Tasmania, were given self-governing powers just like those given to Canada. Towards the end of the nineteenth century these six Australian colonies began to feel that they would like to join in a union like Canada. Several European countries and the United States were beginning to increase their power in the Pacific Ocean, and the Australians thought they would be able to defend themselves better if they united. So in 190

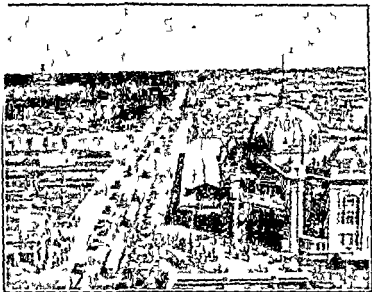


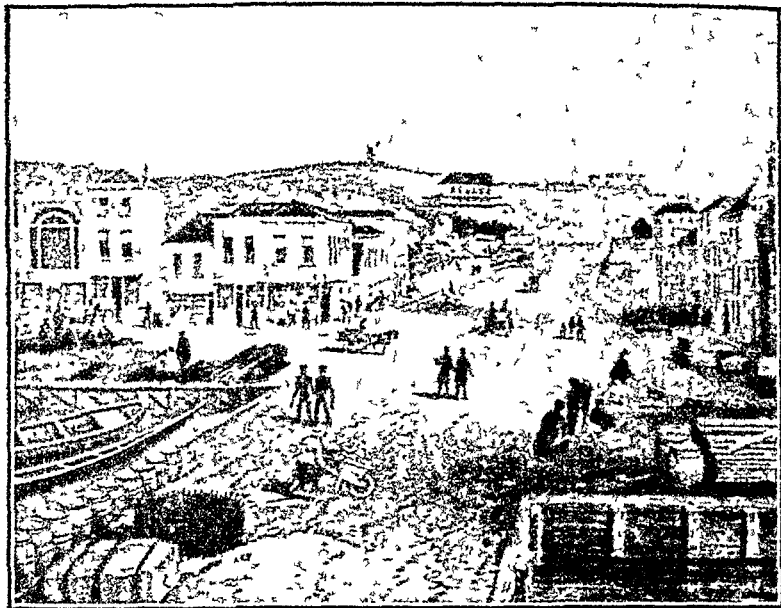
Photo by Commonwealth of Australia

PRINCE'S BRIDGE MELBOURNE IN 1931

A view of the city as it is to-day looking across the river which you see in the picture opposite

an Act was passed creating the Commonwealth of Australia. Each of the six parts kept some powers of government themselves, but those powers of government which were for the good of all six colonies were given to a Parliament and a Cabinet of Ministers over the whole Commonwealth.

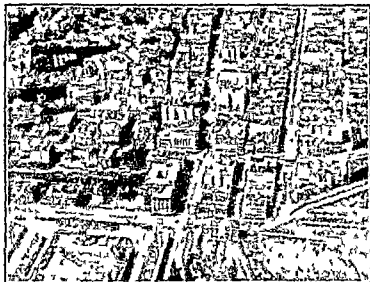
- New Zealand had also become a British colony during the same period. The British had to fight several wars with the Maoris. But they afterwards made good friends with them. In 1856 New Zealand was given Home Rule, but just as Newfoundland has not joined the Dominion of Canada, so New Zealand has not joined the Commonwealth of Australia.



[By permission N Z Government Offices,

THE CITY OF AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, IN 1852.
 This shows the waterfront and the commercial quarter of the town.]

So the movement which began with the trouble in Canada, when Queen Victoria came to the throne, 'has grown in almost every white British colony by the time of the Queen's death in 1901. Within a few months the Government had to deal with the same question in South Africa. Cape Colony had already received this same right of self-government in 1872 and Natal in 1893. - So when at the end of the Second South African War in 1902, the Boers were promised the right to govern themselves, meant that they should have what all the other white British colonies, including the two in South Africa, had already. But the Conservative Government which made the promise fell before it could carry it out. The Liberal Government



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THE CITY OF AUCKLAND NEW ZEALAND IN 1930

An aerial photograph of the same area as that in the picture opposite

which followed granted the right of self government to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange Free State in 1907. By this time, then, there were four separate self governing colonies in South Africa. The bitterness between them gradually died down, and in 1910 they formed a united state with one government, and they called it the Union of South Africa. There was a Parliament elected for the whole Union, and the first Prime Minister was the Boer leader, Louis Botha, who had fought against us in the South African War.

You see, then, how the movement started by Lord Durham in 1840 had spread during seventy years. As time has passed the Self governing Dominions have gained more



[Photo by W. F. Taylor.]

LOUIS BOTHA AND HIS FAMILY.

Louis Botha (1862-1919) was Commander-in-Chief of the Boers in the Second South African War (1899-1902). He later became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (1910), and finally commanded the united South African forces against German South-West Africa in the Great War (1914-1918). His career shows how Dominion Home Rule helped the progress of South Africa.

and more power, and the rights that Lord Durham said the government in London should keep have been gradually taken over by the Dominions, as they have become stronger and learned to govern themselves. Though they now govern themselves, they still remain united under the British Crown, and none of the later colonies has broke away from the Mother Country, as the American Colonies did in the eighteenth century. So the British Empire has become the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Commonwealth was increased in the number of its member

and in the powers enjoyed by each part after the Great War. About this you will read in the last chapter.

SUMMARY

During Victoria's reign most British white colonies were granted the right to govern themselves. This right is known as self government or Dominion Home Rule. The movement began with the Durham Report (1839) following rebellions in Canada (1837). The Act of 1840 gave Canada self government, and later the various provinces joined in a union called the Dominion of Canada (1867). The various Australian colonies received the right of self government between 1850 and 1870, and in the end they joined together to form the Commonwealth of Australia (1901). Newfoundland (1855) and New Zealand (1856) remained separate self governing Dominions. But following the Second Boer War the British and Dutch colonies in South Africa joined in the Union of South Africa (1910).

GROUP WORK

1. Prepare notes for a statement to the class on some aspect of Dominion Self Government. (Use H. W. Palmer's *Our Empire Overseas* or G. Guest's *An Imperial History of England*.)

2. Class in sections study the growth of each of the Self governing Dominions (see *The Romantic Story of Australia*, of *Canada*, of *New Zealand*, of *South Africa* in the series published by the Baskerville Press, *Canada's Story*, *Australia's Story* in "Romance of the World Series," and *South Africa's Story*, by H. E. Marshall). Compare notes.

3. Debate on whether (a) Canada should have self government in 1840, or (b) Ireland in 1922, or (c) India in 1931. (See *Our Empire Story*, by H. E. Marshall.)

4. Extracts from *Canada*, in Bell's *English History Source Books*, might be read to the class.

EXERCISES

1. On an outline map of the world put in the British Self-governing Dominions, in different shading according to the length of time each has enjoyed self-government. (Use an atlas and the map given at the end of the book.)

2. Write a short account of the development of the British Empire in any important period of its history. (R. Wilson's *Children of the Seven Seas* will help you.)

3. Imagine yourself a Canadian, an Australian or a South African, and write a letter to a friend in England explaining how you are governed.

4. Write a short composition suggested by the pictures on pp. 214-217.

EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST

REFORMS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

WHILE these changes were taking place in Britain and the British Empire, important events were occurring in Continental countries and in the Empires that they themselves had set up, especially in the Pacific and the Far East. The countries on the continent of Europe as you read in Chapter 15 in connection with Africa became interested in other parts of the world where they could extend their power and increase their trade. All through the nineteenth century these movements were going on. They were the result of the industrial changes which all countries went through. The inventions which made travel and transport easier also played an important part, for no corner of the world was too far away for European people to reach easily and quickly.

Each European country had its struggles at home also. After 1875 France settled down under the government of the Third Republic, which followed the overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon III. The French people paid off the war indemnity to Germany, and then began to spend money on improving agriculture, industry and commerce. They built roads, railways and canals. New factories sprang up, and the output of the coal mines was doubled in a few years. In 1892 a law was passed saying that foreign goods like those manufactured in France should be heavily taxed on being imported into the country. In this way the French kept foreign goods from competing with their

own and so protected their own industries. This plan was called Protection, and was the very opposite of the British plan of Free Trade. At the same time, laws were passed to force employers to give their work-people proper conditions to work under. Also new Education Acts gave the people the right to free education. Workmen were allowed to form themselves into trade unions to get better hours, conditions and wages. Several new parties grew up in the French Parliament. So, instead of having only two parties, as in Britain, France had many. But often these parties joined together to get benefits for the people.

In the same way various parties grew up in Germany at this time. After the proclamation of the German Empire in 1871, Bismarck, as Imperial Chancellor, remained in power till the year 1890. He had to work with a parliament made up of representatives of the people in all the states of Germany. In this parliament he had to face men who wished to pass laws in order to improve the lot of the poorer classes and make them more equal with their wealthier fellows. These men believed in what is called Socialism. They believed that the government of the state should use its power to share the wealth of the nation among all its members by becoming the owner of land, factories, railways and so on. People had believed in this idea before the nineteenth century, but it was during that century, while the great industrial changes were taking place, that the idea was put forward in a new form by a German, named Karl Marx. Now, Bismarck hated this idea, and he caused the German Parliament to pass laws to stop the spread of this idea and to crush the Socialists who believed in it. In spite of these laws, Socialism continued to spread in Germany and other countries.



[Photo by V. F. Taylor]

Kaiser William II (1858-1918)

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

A GERMAN EMPEROR AND A GERMAN SOCIALIST

Although Bismarck did his best to suppress the Socialists, he took up some of their plans in order to get the working-people on his side and to show them that they would get as many benefits from his kind of government as from the kind which the Socialists wished to set up. In this way he passed a number of Acts which gave the work people many advantages, such as compensation for workmen who had accidents at their work, national insurance and old-age pensions. Bismarck was the first statesman to pass such laws as these, and they have been adopted since in most of the countries of Europe and in many countries overseas. He also allowed the Government to control trade, and so Germany, like France, put taxes on foreign imports in order to protect her own industries.

In 1888, the first German Emperor, William I, died, and he was soon followed to the grave by his son. Then a remarkable man, William II, became German Emperor or Kaiser, and remained on the throne until he fled from Germany at the end of the Great War, when Germany established a Republic. William II and Bismarck disagreed, and in 1890 the Emperor dismissed the old Chancellor, who had done so much for Germany, and took up various plans of his own. These plans were mostly connected with the army, the navy and foreign affairs, and had most important results in the years that followed.

THE WESTERN POWERS IN CHINA

During the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was governed in a very different way from France and Germany. The Czar, or Emperor, of Russia was all-powerful, and was not prevented from acting as he wished by a parliament. Russia was a vast Empire with nearly 200 million inhabitants. They were mostly engaged in agriculture, and, in fact, were serfs until 1861, when they were made free. It was not until towards the end of the nineteenth century that the great industrial movements which had taken place in Western Europe began to affect Russia. Then railways were built and the great resources of Russia began to be opened up. Still, most of the people remained peasants, and they were quite without any education. Unlike her western neighbours, Russia had no middle class of merchants and capitalists. The Russians were in many ways much more like an Asiatic than a European people, and they were ruled by a tyrant who crushed any attempt on the part of certain of the people to gain rights. Because of this there grew up in Russia a peaceful move-

had expanded across Siberia, and had gained a strong rooting on the northern edge of the Chinese Empire. At the same time, other European powers had been gaining rights on the Pacific coast of China. China was a vast Empire with a very ancient civilisation. Early European travellers had visited her shores. The great Marco Polo visited China in the thirteenth century, and Catholic missionaries had gone there even earlier than that, and set up a Christian Church in the Chinese capital, Peking. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese traded with China, and in the seventeenth Dutch and English traders established posts there. But the Chinese tried to shut these Europeans out, and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the country was fully opened to European trade.

Then several wars between the Chinese and European Powers followed. The result of these was that China had to give up some of her territory to these foreign states, and by the end of the century Britain, France, Germany and Russia had each taken over lands that had before been governed by China. Besides the Europeans, there were two other peoples which had appeared on the Chinese scene. First, there were the Japanese, who inhabited the islands to the north-east of China. They had fought a war with China in 1894 and 1895, and had taken control of a part of the mainland of China called Korea. Secondly, the United States had taken possession of the Philippine Islands to the south-east of China. These had formerly belonged to Spain, from whom the United States had taken them as the result of a war fought in 1898. So by the end of the nineteenth century there were six great Powers pressing on China, and each of them had representatives and many of their traders with their families in Peking. In 1911 the Chinese determined to free

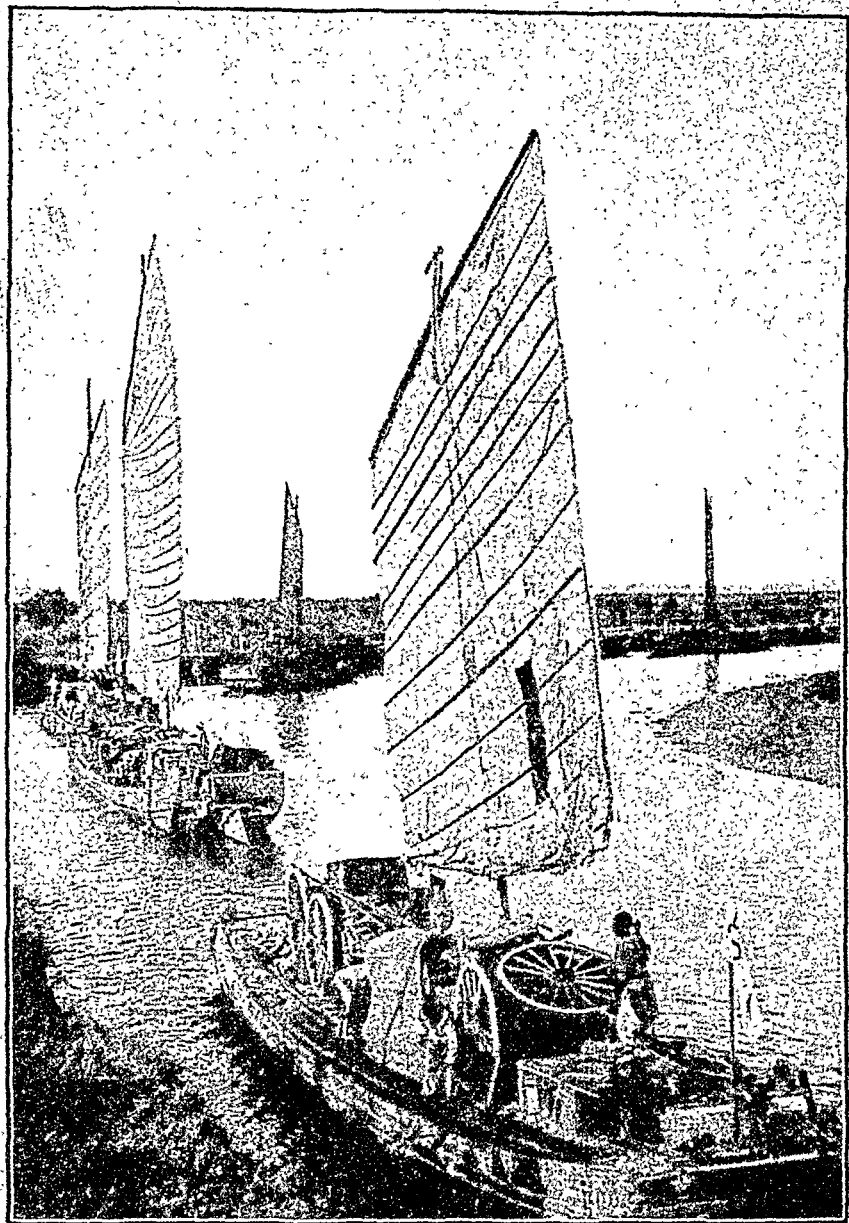


HONG KONG.

A harbour in Southern China taken by the British in 1842 and now a British Crown Colony.

and drive out the foreigner. A secret society was formed. It was called the "Order of the Patriotic Harmonious Fists," and for this reason its members were known as Boxers. These men began to attack foreigners in various places, and finally, in 1900, besieged the Europeans in Peking. All the foreign powers sent armies, which joined together and relieved their fellows in the Chinese capital. The result was that China had to pay a huge sum as an indemnity or bill of war expenses, and had to grant further privileges to the foreigners.

From that time China has never been properly settled. It is a country of great resources and wealth, which would be of much benefit to the world if they could only be properly



[Photo by W. F. Taylor.]

A FLEET OF CHINESE JUNKS DURING THE BOXER
RISING IN 1900.

used. But China has been ruined by the very people who have tried to make the most of the riches of the country. The Chinese have learned a good deal about European ideas of democracy, or government by the people. But so far they have not succeeded in finding a proper way of putting these ideas into practice. In 1911 there was a revolution in China. The rule of the Emperor, which had lasted for centuries, was overthrown. A republic was established and a president was chosen. But since then there have been parties in China opposing one another, and the country is still in a state of civil war.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Of the other yellow people in this part of the world, the Japanese, there is a very different story to tell. During the sixteenth century the Europeans who visited and traded with Japan were well received. But in the seventeenth century the Japanese Government suddenly decided to shut the country against all Europeans. Then in the middle of the nineteenth century trade began again, and very soon the Japanese began to learn two things which the Europeans had to teach—namely, the art of modern warfare and modern methods of government. The little Nippon men, as the Japanese call themselves, built up a wonderful army and navy, and then in 1870 they established a parliament very like the parliament which most countries of Western Europe had. They soon began to compete successfully with the European powers in China, and so strong did their navy become that in 1902 they made an alliance with Great Britain.

The reason for this alliance was that Japan feared Russia. Russia was trying to control a part of the old Chinese Empire in Manchuria next to the part of which



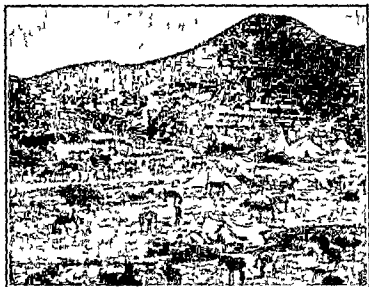
Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia
(1894-1917).

Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan
(1867-1912).

THE IMPERIAL RIVALS IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905).

Japan had taken charge, namely Korea. They became so jealous of each other that in 1904 war broke out between them. It was like David against Goliath. But so well had the Japanese learned their lessons from their European teachers that, to the surprise of the whole world, they defeated the Russians. In 1905 peace was made, and David got the better of the bargain, becoming supreme in that part of the mainland of China. From that time the Japanese have been the most powerful people in the Far East. In the Great War (1914-18) they were the allies of Britain and France, and their navy played a most important part against the Germans in the Pacific Ocean.

The result of the Russo-Japanese War in Russia was very different. The Russian people became dis-



(Photo by W. F. Taylor)

A JAPANESE CAMP IN THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1904-1905)

The picture shows part of the Third Japanese Army taking part in the siege of Port Arthur

gusted with their Government, as news of their defeats in the war reached them. Discontent broke out in various parts of the country, and on one Sunday in 1905 there was a revolution in St. Petersburg (now called Leningrad). Troops fired on the people, and there was much bloodshed, so that the day came to be known as "Red Sunday." The revolution was put down, and the Czar promised that a parliament should be called together. This parliament, known as the Duma, met on and off for the next few years. But nobody was satisfied with it, for no rights were gained as a result of its meetings. The members of revolutionary societies continued to form plots

for the overthrow of the Government, and the Czar failed to bring over to his side those men who were willing to help in a properly formed parliament. So, while Britain, France and the other Western states were gradually building up the kind of government in which the people would take a share, the Russian people were still ruled tyrannically. This went on until the revolutionists gained the upper hand and carried a still more terrible revolution in the middle of the Great War. How the Government of the Czar was finally overthrown you will read in Chapter 24.

SUMMARY

In France, following the establishment of the Third Republic (1875), many improvements were carried out in agriculture, industry and commerce. In Germany Bismarck remained supreme till 1890. He struggled with the Socialists and introduced many reforms. The Emperor William II (the Kaiser) overthrew Bismarck, and became specially interested in military, naval and imperial matters. Russia and other great Powers became interested in China, taking much of the land it governed. This led to the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Japan was also interested in China. Japan made an alliance with Britain (1902), and defeated the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Russia's defeat led to a revolution and some attempts at reform which failed.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in three sections study the history of the first twenty-five years of the Third Republic in France, the work of Bismarck as Imperial Chancellor in Germany and the growth of revolutionary parties in Russia, respectively. (Use F. W. Tickner's *Europe since 1789*, R. Jones's *Since Waterloo* or H. B. Niver's *Modern Nations and their Famous Men*.) Compare notes.
2. Class in three sections find out more about the history of

respectively (See H. B. Niles's *Brief History of the World*, F. S. Yule's *Stories from Japanese History*.)

3. Read to the class an account of the Boxer Rising or of some incident in the Russo-Japanese War. (Two good novels about the former are G. Gilson's *The Lost Column* and G. A. Henty's *With the Allies to Peking*.)

EXERCISES

1. Study the map of the Far East, and note the areas governed by the various Western states.

2. How was it that Britain and Japan became allies in 1902?

3. Imagine yourself one of the Europeans besieged by the Boxers. Give an account of your experiences.

4. Describe the junks shown in the picture on p. 228 and compare them with European ships of the same period.

Chapter 22

THE REFORMS OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1906

AFTER the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 and the end of the Second South African War in 1902, there was a great change in the government of Britain. The Conservative Government, with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister, had been in power since 1895, shortly after the retirement of Gladstone. In 1902 Lord Salisbury retired and Mr. A. J. Balfour (afterwards Earl Balfour) became Prime Minister. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain continued to be Minister for the Colonies, as he had been during the Boer War. After this war Mr. Chamberlain toured South Africa, and became convinced that Britain's duty was to do all she possibly could to bind the Empire more closely together. So, just as he had broken away from Gladstone because he believed in the union of Great Britain and Ireland, so now he tried to teach his fellow-countrymen that they must all work for the union of the Empire as a whole.

The best way to bring this about, he thought, was to have more trade among the various parts of the Empire. In order to make the people of Britain buy the goods of the Colonies, he said, a tax must be put on certain foreign goods, so that British people would prefer to buy Colonial goods, which should not be taxed. In the same way, the Colonies should put a tax on foreign goods but not on British goods. This plan, he said, would make the Empire more united, and also it would cause more employment and

higher wages at home, because it would enable British manufacturers to compete more easily with foreign manufacturers. Besides these advantages, Mr Chamberlain said that any foreign goods that did come into Britain would bring in money in the form of taxes. This money could be used to make the army and navy stronger for the defence of the Empire, and also to carry out reforms for the benefit of the poor, such as old age pensions.

You will see that this plan was the very opposite of Free Trade, which was now thoroughly established in Britain, and in which most men belonging to both Liberal and Conservative Parties believed. But Mr Chamberlain's plan was the kind of Protection that most countries of the Continent, as you read in the last chapter, had adopted. So some called his new plan 'Fair Trade'. But though this plan might mean more employment and higher wages for British workmen in the end, it also meant that at first goods would be dearer to buy. Much of the product of the Colonies consisted of food of various kinds, and so the new plan of Fair Trade would have made food dearer also. In the General Election of 1906 the voters of the country had to decide whether they would support Mr Chamberlain's plan. The result of the election was a big defeat for the Conservatives. The Liberals had an enormous majority in the House of Commons and so came back to power after ten years. In the new Government Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman was Prime Minister.

In the General Election of 1906 twenty-nine Labour Members of Parliament were elected. There had already been one or two such members, but now they formed a real party in the House of Commons. This Labour Party was formed by several trade unions which had joined together in order to pay the expenses of any of their own



A. J. Balfour (Earl Balfour)
(1848-1930).

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman
(1836-1908).

A CONSERVATIVE AND A LIBERAL PRIME MINISTER AT THE
BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

members who might be elected to Parliament. Other societies, made up of people who believed in Socialism, of which you read in the last chapter, joined to help the Labour Party in Parliament. Besides the actual twenty-nine members of the Labour Party, there were other workmen representatives in the Parliament elected in 1906. Among these were eleven miners. Altogether there were fifty-four such Members of Parliament at this time. The Liberal members formed such a large number that even fifty-four Labour members were not strong enough to force the Liberals into any action they did not wish to take. But it happened that the Liberal Party at this time wanted to use its great new power to pass laws to improve the lot



H. H. Asquith (Oct. 1906)
Prime Minister

David Lloyd George (1906)
Chancellor of the Exchequer

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER AT THE TIME OF THE PASSING OF THE PARLIAMENT ACT (1911)

of working people. In the passing of these laws the Liberals were helped by the Labour members, who, of course, fully agreed with all the Liberal proposals even though the Labour Party would have gone farther if they themselves had had as much power as the Liberals had in Parliament.

MANY NEW LAWS

First, a law was passed in 1906 giving new rights to trade unions. By this law the funds or money, of the unions were given special protection. Later on, in 1913, the unions were given still further powers, allowing them

to collect money from their members specially to help them to take a greater part in the affairs of the state. But by this time an Act had been passed (in 1911) saying that all members of the House of Commons should be paid a salary for their work. This meant that working-men could afford to give up their ordinary work and sit in Parliament without being paid to do so by trade union members. The Liberals also passed several Acts to improve still further conditions of employment in mines and factories. By an Act of 1909 certain boards were set up to force employers in certain trades to pay their workers proper wages. In 1912 the miners went on strike, and a law was then passed saying that they should not be paid less than a certain minimum wage for their labour. The Labour Party would have liked to see all workers paid a minimum wage by law. This has not happened yet, though many trades now have a minimum wage. Besides this, a new Workmen's Compensation Act was passed stating that a sum should be paid to an injured workman or to his widow and children if he were killed.

The Liberals also tried to deal with the difficulties of poverty and unemployment, as they affected children and old people. The Government in 1905 had already selected a certain number of men and women to hold meetings and report on what could be done to change the Poor Law as it existed then. They met on and off for four years, and issued their Report in 1909. Many of the reforms suggested by these men and women were not carried out and have not been carried out since. But several of the plans that they proposed were made law. Already in 1906 a law had been passed saying that school children whose parents were too poor to feed them properly should be given free meals. In 1908 a further Act



Latham & H. Green

A LABOUR EXCHANGE IN LONDON

One of the Exchanges established by the Act of 1907. Look for one in your own district.

laid down certain rules for the proper care of children. In the same year the Old Age Pensions Act was passed. This said that men and women of seventy years of age were to be paid out of the taxes ten shillings a week pension if their income did not reach a certain amount. In 1909 another Act set up Labour Exchanges, where those out of work could be helped to find employment. In 1911 National Insurance was established. By this law workers were to pay a certain proportion of their wages towards a fund. Employers and the Government also were to pay a certain proportion. From this fund the insured worker could draw a certain amount weekly while he was out of work.

The idea behind all these laws was that the wealthier people of the country should help their less fortunate fellows. One way of doing this would be to put every trade and business in the hands of the Government. Some people believe that if the Government owned every business nobody could become very much richer than anyone else, and so the wealth of the country would be fairly divided among all the people. This is the plan called Socialism. The Liberals did not believe in this. What they did instead was to increase the amount of taxation paid by those who were better off, and use the money to carry out the improvements proposed in their laws.

THE LORDS AND THE PARLIAMENT ACT

The Minister whose business it is to arrange for new taxation is called the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Every year he makes a statement to Parliament showing how much has been spent during the past year, how much is wanted for the coming year, and the plans proposed for gathering the money. This statement is called the Budget. Before the plans proposed in the Budget could become law they had to be passed first by the House of Commons and then by the House of Lords. But up to this time the House of Lords had always passed the Budget, and nobody thought that they would ever refuse to do so.

You may imagine what a great deal of new taxation had to be planned to get enough money to pay for the reforms carried by the Liberal Government which came into power in 1906. In this Government the Chancellor of the Exchequer was Mr. Lloyd George. In 1909 Mr. Lloyd George's Budget proposed more new taxes, especially those to be paid by the owners of land. It passed the House of Commons, but many members of the House of Lords

were landowners, and when the Budget reached them, to everybody's amazement, they refused to pass it. Instead, they sent it back to the Commons to be altered. This refusal of the Lords to pass the Budget of 1909 led to a great change in the law.

The Prime Minister then was Mr Asquith (afterwards Earl of Oxford), who had succeeded Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman in 1908. Mr Asquith refused to agree to alter the Budget. So the people had to decide, and two General Elections were held in 1910. The Liberals did not get as many members in Parliament as in 1906, but, helped by the Labour members and the party of Irish members, they remained in power. In the midst of all this trouble King Edward VII died, and his son, George V, came to the throne. In spite of this Mr Asquith went forward with his plan for preventing the House of Lords ever refusing to pass a Budget again. In 1911 an Act, called the Parliament Act was passed. This said that if the House of Lords refused to pass any Bill having to do with money matters that Bill should become law within one month. The Act also dealt with other Bills not to do with money. In this case, the Lords could refuse to pass a Bill passed by the Commons. But if the Commons sent it back to the Lords three times, it should become law, whether the Lords agreed or not. By this part of the Parliament Act the Lords had the power to hold back a Bill from becoming law for two years. Because of this power, the Commons often agree to changes suggested by the Lords, in order that the Bill may pass without being delayed so long. Besides this the Act made it compulsory to hold a General Election at least once every five years, whereas before this the period had been seven years.

Acting on this new law, the Liberals in 1912 brought

in a new Home Rule Bill for Ireland. You will remember that the House of Lords refused to pass Gladstone's Bill of 1894. The Lords again refused, but under the new law it would become an Act in 1914. This led to much trouble in Ireland, because Ulster, the Northern part of Ireland, wished to remain part of the United Kingdom as before. So in 1914 the people of Ulster were preparing to resist the law by force of arms. In the midst of this strife the Great War broke out and the Home Rule Act was not put into force. This drove the South of Ireland into rebellion, and there was much more trouble there during and after the War.

After 1911 the Liberals went on with more reforms, knowing that now the Lords had no power to prevent their plans becoming law. There was one reform, though, that they did not attempt to carry, and that was one to give women the right to vote for Members of Parliament. Some women became very angry at the refusal of the Liberal Ministers to get a law passed to give them this right. So led by one named Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters they formed themselves into a society which determined to force Parliament to make this change. These women were called Suffragettes, because they demanded the vote or suffrage. They went about the country causing much disturbance and often doing damage. Many were put into prison for riotous behaviour, and then refused to eat or drink, adopting the plan called the "Hunger Strike." When the War came the Suffragettes stopped their agitation, but it was not until after the War that women gained the vote. Besides the Suffragettes, other women demanded the vote before the War. Led by a great woman named Millicent Fawcett, they tried to gain the vote by peaceful



Phot. by E. H. Gurnea

THE SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT

Mrs. Pankhurst, the leader of the Suffragettes, being carried from the gates of Buckingham Palace during one of her demonstrations in favour of votes for women.

In 1913 Mr. Lloyd George began a campaign connected with the land. His aim was to make the country see that much land which might be used for agricultural purposes, was lying idle. He went about the country holding meetings. In the middle of this all reforms were stopped by the coming of the Great War in 1914. About this you will now read.

SUMMARY

In the General Election of 1906 the voters refused to support Mr. Chamberlain's plan of "Fair Trade," and gave the Liberal Party a great majority in the House of Commons, besides returning several new Labour members to Parliament. Between 1906 and 1914 the Liberals carried out a number of reforms connected with Trade Unions, Workmen's Compensation, Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges and National Insurance. The House of Lords refused to pass Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909, and this led to the passing of the Parliament Act (1911), which deprived the Lords of many of their former powers. After this a new Home Rule Act for Ireland was passed. While the Suffragettes were demanding "Votes for Women!" and new reforms were being planned, the Great War broke out in 1914.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections study the history of Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges and National Insurance. (R. Jones's *Everyone's Affairs* or C. S. S. Higham's *The Good Citizen* may help you.)
2. Debate whether the Lords should reject Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909.
3. Prepare notes for a short lecture to the class on Trade Unions in the Twentieth Century, the Parliament Act of 1911 or the Suffragettes. (Use the books mentioned above and G. Whiskard's *How we are Governed*.)

EXERCISES

1. Make a list of the important measures carried out by the Liberals between 1906 and 1914.
2. Write a short character-sketch of an important Englishman or Englishwoman of this period.
3. Why were the people of Ulster preparing to fight against Home Rule in 1914?
4. Write a short composition suggested by the picture on p. 243.

- THE COMING OF THE GREAT WAR -

THE BALANCE OF POWER

THE Great War which broke out in the summer of 1914 was the most terrible war in history. In this War all the greatest states in the world took part. Before the end of the War twenty-eight countries in every part of the world fought in it on one side or the other. The War lasted more than four years and completely changed the map of Europe. It cost the world about 50,000 million pounds. It led to the enlistment of 50 million men as soldiers, sailors and airmen apart from the millions of men and women who did other work in connection with the War. There were 30 million casualties and 8 million deaths due to the War. It is easy to see from these figures what a terrible war it was. To most people at the time it seemed to come quite unexpectedly. In June 1914 an Austrian Archduke was murdered by a shot fired from a pistol at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, in the Balkans. Within a few weeks the world was at war. Let us try to see what were the real causes of it.

You remember reading about the wars which Germany fought while Bismarck was in power. The result of the war with Austria in 1866 was that Austria was driven out of the German union of states, and Austria and Hungary together formed a new union and set up a new kind of government. The result of the war with France in 1870-1 was that Bismarck established the new German Empire and took from France the two provinces on the

Rhine, Alsace and Lorraine. From that time France was the enemy of Germany, and Bismarck feared that she might try to get her revenge in another war. So in 1879 he made an alliance with Austria-Hungary. This was called the Dual Alliance. Three years later, in 1882, Italy joined the two Central Powers, and the alliance became the Triple Alliance.

France now saw that if she was to hold her own in Europe she must find a powerful ally on the Continent. But while Bismarck remained German Chancellor she could not find one, because he remained on friendly terms with Russia. You will remember how in 1888 the young Kaiser, William II, came to the Prussian and German throne, and how in 1890 he fell out with Bismarck and dismissed him. This brought about a change, because the Kaiser and his new Ministers did not care about the friendship of Russia. Russia at this time was beginning to think of developing her industries. But for this purpose she badly needed money, and French people were prepared to invest money in Russia. So gradually Russia drifted away from her friendship with Germany and turned towards friendship with France. By 1895 this friendship became an alliance. So Europe came to be divided into two great alliances—the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia.

Great Britain did not join either of these alliances. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain had trouble with France in Africa and other parts of the world. Britain could not feel friendly towards Russia, because Russia was always a danger to certain parts of the British Empire, especially India. Besides this, the Russian Government ruled the

people tyrannically, and Britain, with her system of democracy, or government by the people, was strongly opposed to such plans of government as those adopted in Russia. As to Germany, it was difficult for Britain to be friendly with her, because the Kaiser was jealous of Britain's sea power, and took every opportunity to show his dislike of Britain. In any case, it was never Britain's plan to make alliances with countries on the Continent. She wished to remain free to devote herself to the affairs of her Empire, which was scattered all over the world. The only alliance that she made at this time was that with Japan in 1902. Shortly after this, as you will remember Japan was at war with Russia, and that was another reason why Britain could not join any alliance to which Russia belonged.

So for a time Britain kept a position which leaned to neither one side nor the other or what is called a neutral position. All the same, during the first years of the twentieth century Britain gradually became more friendly with France. The two countries settled their various disputes in Africa and other places. After the defeat of Russia by Japan, France did not feel that the alliance of Russia gave her as much strength as before. Besides, with Russia weakened Britain did not fear her so much. So, in 1907, an agreement was reached between Britain and France, in spite of France's alliance with Russia. This agreement was not an alliance but was called a "cordial understanding." The French word for "understanding" is *entente*, and so the agreement between the three Powers was known as the Triple Entente.

Now, it was thought that each country, by making these arrangements, would be able to go forward with its plans and ambitions, without being prevented by the others. So this arrangement was called the "Balance of Power."

But it was really a very poor sort of a balance, because the least thing threatened to upset it. Each of the Continental countries on the two sides had a system of military service which forced every man to serve some time in the army. This system is known as conscription. It had been started by Napoleon, and had spread in Europe since his time. The use of conscription in these later days showed that all the countries which had it were determined to be prepared for war. As the Continental armies increased, so did the numbers and kinds of weapons that they were to use. Armaments, as we call them, began to pile up, and new guns and instruments of destruction were invented.

Now, the British army was not raised by conscription. It was a small army of highly trained men who were enlisted by voluntary methods. For its size it was probably the finest army in the world, because it was composed of men who made soldiering their profession, and not of men who, like the soldiers on the Continent, were forced to leave their businesses to undergo military training for a certain number of years. Apart from this regular army, Britain had an army of volunteers, called the Territorial Army, made up of men who carried on their business and trained as soldiers for a certain number of days in the year.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND THE BALKANS

Although Britain did not keep up great land forces, she did maintain a large navy. Britain's great strength had always been on the sea. This strength had to be kept up because of the enormous distances that divided the various parts of the Empire which Britain had to defend. When Britain complained about Germany's vast army and the armaments that she was building up, Germany complained in reply of Britain's great navy. As she saw no hope of

resisting British sea-power, Germany, under the Kaiser, William II, began to turn her own thoughts to the sea. Germany hoped to build up an Empire for herself, and she realised that she could never do this without a good navy. So, in the first few years of the twentieth century, the German navy grew larger and larger. Britain had to keep in front all the time, and so a sort of race went on, and nobody could do anything to stop it.

But if Germany was to build up an Empire, where was she to do it? She complained that Britain held all the best parts of the world and she said that Britain was keeping her from her place in the sun. Besides, the only sea she had for her navy was the Baltic Sea and this has only one narrow opening to the north of Denmark. To get an outlet of her own, Germany dug the Kiel Canal to join the Baltic Sea and the North Sea. Also she saw that if she could control a line running south-east through Europe and Turkey, she could get out to the open sea at the Persian Gulf. So she became friendly with Turkey, and began to construct a railway called the Berlin Bagdad Railway. In this way Turkey came into the question of the Balance of Power.

Now, this system of alliances although it led to some very dangerous situations, did manage to keep the peace among the great states of Europe for several years. Since 1871 there had been no great war in Europe. The only part of Europe where there had been war was the Balkan Peninsula. You will remember that Russia and Turkey fought a war here in 1877, and that in 1878 the Congress of Berlin prevented Russia from reaping the fruits of her victory. By the Treaty of Berlin, Bulgaria remained under Turkish rule to a certain extent, but Rumania, Servia and Montenegro became independent states. Besides



[Photo by Topical Press.]

SERBIAN VOLUNTEERS IN 1911.

Just before the First Balkan War (1912). Notice the Balkan costume.

this, the Turkish province of Bosnia, on the Adriatic Sea, was placed under the control of Austria. These new states were the bitter enemies of Turkey still, and only waited for their chance to attack her. In 1908 there was a revolution in Turkey. This gave the Balkans their chance. Bulgaria declared her independence, and Austria declared that Bosnia henceforth was her property. Some years later these Balkan states joined together in an alliance, and in 1912 declared war on Turkey. If they had stood fast together they could have driven the Turks right out of Europe. But when they had defeated the Turks, they began to quarrel about how the Turkish lands were to be divided among them. Then Turkey persuaded Bulgaria to leave the Balkan alliance, and together in 1913 these two

states made war on the rest. The result was that Turkey was able to hold on to that part of Europe to the west of Constantinople called Thrace, while Bulgaria was much enlarged and was able to reach the sea to the south. The other Balkan state now hated Bulgaria as well as Turkey.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

But this was by no means the only difficulty in the Balkans. All the Powers of Europe were interested in these little countries, but especially Russia and Austria-Hungary. Russia the 'big Slav brother' still wanted to protect the people of her own race. The Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled several territories inhabited by Slavs to the south. One of these territories was Bosnia. Also she ruled Bohemia, a Slavonic land to the north, and Transylvania mostly inhabited by Rumanians, to the east. Because of the many different peoples it governed, the Austrian Empire was called the 'Ramshackle Empire', and it was said that many different languages were spoken by the soldiers of any one Austrian regiment. The people of Serbia looked forward to the day when their Slav brothers of the Austrian Empire would be joined with them in one large Servian kingdom. If this happened Serbia would reach the sea on the Adriatic, so Austria, of course, would never consent to it. Some Austrian statesmen wanted to make the Slavs in the Empire happy and contented, and wished to give them equal rights with the Austrians and the Hungarians. One of those who wished to give the Slavs greater rights was the Archduke Ferdinand, the nephew and heir of the aged Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, who had come to the throne in the middle of the Revolution of 1848.

The Archduke was, therefore, hated by those people

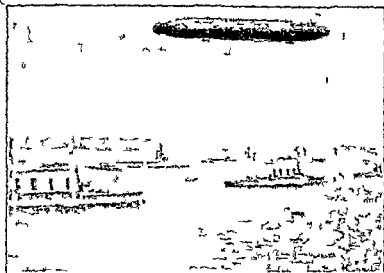


[Photo by Topical Press.]

GERMAN SAILORS IN LONDON IN 1911.

Showing the sailors on a friendly visit to England. This picture and the picture opposite show that, although war was so near, nobody realised it, and friendly relations between Britain and Germany were kept up to the last.

of Bosnia and Serbia who wanted a greater Serbia. They formed themselves into secret societies, and when the Archduke visited Bosnia, in June, 1914, they assassinated him. This was not the act of the Servian Government but the Servian Government had to answer for it. The Austrian Government, four weeks later, sent a note to Serbia calling upon the Government to do all sorts of things to stop such a thing occurring again. In this note there were several demands that no country could consent to and keep its freedom. Yet Austria said that Serbia must answer in forty-eight hours. Germany supported her ally Austria, in this. But Russia encouraged her little Sla-



THE BRITISH FLEET AT KILLISNOCK

Showing the fleet on a frigate to many in the spring of 1914 shortly before the outbreak of the War. The fleet consisted of the H.M.S. Canopus which was on duty in the North Atlantic Sea.

brother, Serbia, to resist. Then France and Britain called upon Austria to give Serbia a longer time to prepare her answer. This was refused and on July 8 Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia prepared to give armed help to Serbia and Germany prepared to give it to Austria. On August 1 war broke out between Germany and Russia. Germany asked France what she proposed to do, and as France began to get her army ready in case of need, Germany declared war on her on August 3.

All this time the Liberal Government in Britain was trying to stop the spread of the war. The Foreign Minister, Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey, made frantic efforts



[Photo by W. F. Taylor.

Albert (born 1875), King of the
Belgians since 1909.

[Photo by Topical Press.

Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey
(born 1862), British Foreign
Minister in 1914.

TWO IMPORTANT MEN IN EUROPE AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR.

to bring Europe to its senses, but in vain. Germany now had to fight both France and Russia. The German commanders thought they could beat France first and then on Russia afterwards. But to do so they had to do quickly. A quick way through to France was by way of Belgium, and Germany asked Belgium if she would let German troops pass through. Now, Germany was one of the states which had signed the treaty saying that Belgium should never be attacked, and should always be allowed to be neutral, that is, fight on neither side in a war. The Belgian Government, therefore, refused Germany's request, and called upon Britain for help. Britain had always



[Phot. by Lup. & Co.]

RECRUITING IN LONDON IN 1914

A crowd of men waiting to join the British army on the outbreak of the War. Such sights were to be seen at that time all over the country. Perhaps you can find a picture of a similar scene in your own town.

defended the Low Countries, or Netherlands, against any great military power which tried to control a continuous line of coast to the south of the English Channel, the Straits of Dover and the North Sea. So she had fought Spain in the reign of Elizabeth, and France in the days of Louis XIV and of Napoleon. Britain, therefore, now called upon the Germans not to enter Belgium. But the Germans had gone too far to stop. So they marched into Belgium, and on August 4 Britain declared war on Germany. In this way our country joined in the greatest war in history.

SUMMARY

The Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria (1879) was later joined by Italy, and so became the Triple Alliance (1882). After Bismarck's fall (1890) Russia was friendless and so made an alliance with France (1895). Britain came to a "cordial understanding" with these two, and made with them the "Triple Entente" (1907). This "Balance of Power" was disturbed by events in the Balkans. A revolution in Turkey (1908) and the two Balkan Wars (1912, 1913) led to trouble in Bosnia, where the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated (June 1914). Austria declared war on Serbia (July 28), and Germany on Russia (August 1) and on France (August 3). As Germany determined to attack France through Belgium, Britain joined against Germany (August 4). So began the Great War.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections study the history of the Triple Alliance, the Triple Entente, the Balkan situation before the war, the position of Belgium, and the growth of armaments, respectively. (*Outlines of European History*, by M. O. Davis, *Junior History of Europe*, by D. K. Gordon, and *Europe since Napoleon*, by E. Levett, may help.) Compare notes.

2. Prepare a community map of Europe as it was in 1914.

3. Prepare notes for a short speech to the class on why Britain, or France, or Russia, or Germany, or Austria went to war in 1914.

EXERCISES

1. Why did Britain, France and Russia form the Triple Entente in 1907?

2. Imagine yourself (a) a Servian, and state your grievance against Austria in 1914, (b) a Belgian, and say why you intend to resist the German army passing through your country in 1914.

3. Explain the military situation in Britain just before the War.

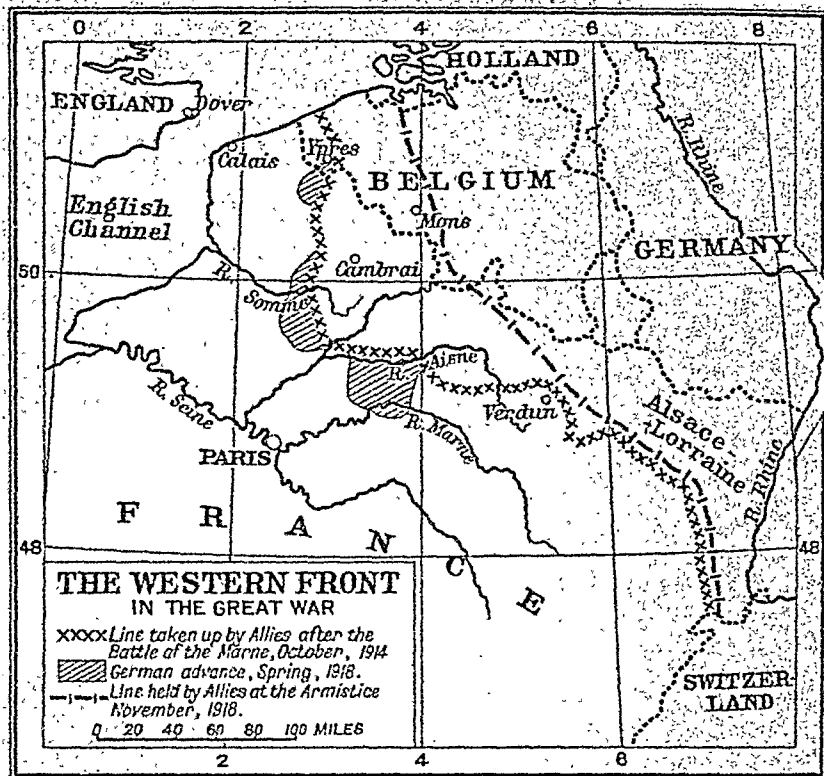
4. Give an account of the scene in the picture shown on p. 252 or on p. 252.

THE GREAT WAR

FAILURE OF THE FIRST GERMAN PLAN

WHEN the War began very few people realised what a terrible struggle it was going to be. The German army was much mightier than that of any other state and the Germans thought that they would be able to crush France quickly and then turn against Russia afterwards. For Russia, being a huge country, took a long time to get herself fully ready. By this means the Germans thought that the War would be over in a few months. It is true that Germany had to fight on two fronts—west and east—but if she could finish on one front first she would be able to throw all her weight on the other, instead of having to divide it between the two at the same time. This was her plan, then, and this was why she had to break the treaty with Belgium, and march that way into France, and so avoid spending a long time breaking down the line of fortresses on the French frontier.

If everything had worked out according to the programme, the Germans might have succeeded in their object. But three things prevented the programme from working properly. These were, first, the courage of the Belgians, second, the determination of the French, third the rapid arrival of the British army. The Germans broke through Belgium, but the Belgians fought in such a way as to make the progress of the Germans slower than they had hoped. Still, before the end of August the German army was through Belgium and facing the British



and French on the frontier. So the British had to retreat from Mons and the French from farther south. The Germans pressed on towards Paris, and it seemed as though they would succeed in driving the opposing armies out of France altogether. Then what seemed like a miracle happened, though it was really due to the good military plans or strategy of the Allies. The French army held the Germans at a point on the River Marne, quite near to Paris. With the help of the British the French forced the Germans to retreat some miles back to



[Photo by T. Hall] 25.

WOUNDED GERMAN SOLDIERS IN THE GREAT WAR AT A RED CROSS STATION IN FRANCE AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE 1914

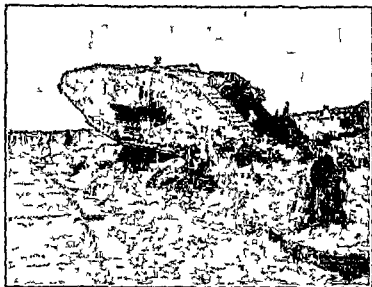
Note the Red Cross Flag which is common to all nations.

From this point both sides moved northwards towards the sea. Each side hoped to get in front of the other and so surround the enemy. But neither succeeded in this, and so they both reached the sea. In this position they dug themselves in, and so there was a long line of trenches from the North Sea to the Alps. This line changed very little during the next four years. The Germans, in October, made a desperate effort to break through the British lines at the Belgian town of Ypres but failed after the most awful bloodshed. Ypres remained in British hands throughout the War, but because of its position it was constantly attacked by the Germans, and its buildings were rapidly

smashed to ruins. So the German plan of a quick war had completely failed, and they had to settle down to long years of trench warfare.

Germany now turned to the Eastern front in an attempt to crush Russia and drive her out of the War. In 1915 the Germans drove the Russians back, after they had tried to invade Hungary. The Germans took many towns in Poland, but in the end the Russians took up a long line of trenches in which they were able to defend themselves for many months. This retreat was lucky for Austria, for in the middle of 1915 Italy joined the Allies against Germany and Austria. So the Austrians had to fight on a new front to their south-west. But already Turkey had become the ally of the Central Powers, and this made up to some extent for Italy joining the Allies. In 1915 the British attempted to get in touch with Russia through the Dardanelles. To do this they made an attack on the Peninsula of Gallipoli. Thousands of men from Britain and the British Dominions died on this bloodstained field, and in the end they had to give up the attempt to defeat the Turks in this quarter. After this Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, and together they overran Serbia, which remained occupied until the last days of the War.

In 1916 the Germans made an attempt to take the great French fortress of Verdun, but after four months of incessant fighting the Germans had to give up the hope of capturing it because they were being attacked elsewhere. The Russians attacked the Austrians, and the Germans came to their rescue. Then the British and French attacked the Germans on the River Somme. This attack did not win much ground, but it greatly weakened the German forces. This battle of the Somme is interesting, because then the British "tank" made its first appearance. The



Phot. by Topical Press

ONE OF THE FIRST TANKS

An early Tank fixed in the mud near Ypres in Belgium. Compare this with pictures of some other models which you may collect or with an actual Tank that you may see in your town as a souvenir of the Great War.

Italians also attacked and towards the end of 1916 Rumania joined the Allies. But the Germans and Austrians rapidly overran the country and occupied it for the rest of the War.

BRITAIN, AMERICA AND THE SUBMARINES

All through this time Britain was building up new armies and equipping them for war. Hundreds of thousands of volunteers had joined, but in 1916 Parliament decided to introduce conscription, and men had to go whether they wanted to or not. The organisation of the armies was in the hands of Lord Kitchener, who played a

most important part in the War until his tragic death by drowning in 1916. During 1916 also an important change took place in the government of Britain. In 1915 Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, had asked members of the Conservative and Labour Parties to join him as Ministers. In 1916 Mr. Lloyd George thought that Great Britain was not putting as much force into the War as she might. On this point he quarrelled with Mr. Asquith. Mr. Asquith then resigned, and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, with Ministers from all three Parties to help him. He was very energetic, and everyone felt that he was an excellent man to have at the head of affairs at that time.

Never had Britain taken such a great part on land in any war before. But her greatest strength still lay in her navy. Soldiers and supplies were carried safely to the Continent because of the protection of the navy. But there were not many naval battles in the War. The German navy was not really strong enough to risk open fighting. It did once do so, at the Battle of Jutland, in May, 1916. The British did not win this battle, but the German fleet was so battered that it never risked another open fight. Germany protected her shores with mines, which made it impossible for enemy ships to approach them. But Germany was almost entirely cut off from the outside world, because of the strength of the British fleets. We blockaded Germany, and prevented food and goods from reaching her. Germany could not do the same to us directly. But she did it indirectly by means of submarines. Throughout the War both sides were constantly inventing new things for war purposes. For instance, Germany invented poison gas, and Britain invented the "tank."

But as Germany could not reach us by means of the sea, she paid close attention to two weapons of war, namely,

aircraft and submarines. She used airships (Zeppelins) and aeroplanes to attack not only the armies but the civil population of the countries of her enemies, and much damage was done in England and France in this way. It was with submarines that the Germans gained most success. In 1915 German submarines began to attack every kind of ship, not only battleships, but also commercial and even passenger vessels. In May, 1915, they sank the *Lusitania* off the Irish coast, and 1,200 lives were lost. Among these were 120 American citizens. The President of the United States, President Wilson, protested against this. But the Germans were now desperate. Their submarine campaign was meeting with great success. Thousands of tons of shipping were sunk, and the Germans believed that if they could keep it up a little longer they would bring their enemies to their knees. But they went too far. Their submarine commanders were given orders to destroy any ship on sight. This meant that neutral ships were to be sunk as well. At last American patience was exhausted, and when, in April, 1917, the Germans refused to stop unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States declared war on them.

DEFEAT OF GERMANY AND HER ALLIES

This was a great advantage to the Allies, though they knew that it would take the Americans a long time to train large armies and bring them into the field. Meanwhile, Germany made up for the entry of America against her by making peace with Russia in 1917. Discontent had been growing for some time in the Russian army. Russia's western allies could not get through to help her owing to the British failure to defeat the Turks at the Dardanelles and the overrunning of Rumania and Servia by the Central



[Photo by Topical Press.]

MARSHAL FOCH AND EARL HAIG.

The French and British Commanders-in-Chief in the Great War.

Powers. In 1917 a revolution took place in Russia. The Czar was dethroned and a republic was declared. Then power passed into the hands of a set of extreme Socialists or Communists, called Bolsheviks. These set up a new government, called a Soviet Republic, and then made a treaty with Germany. Germany made great gains of Russian territory on her eastern side, and the Allies lost for ever the help of Russia. In the same year the German and Austrian armies heavily defeated the Italians. Also the British failed to drive back the Germans in France at Cambrai.

But in other parts of the world the British were more successful. They attacked the Turks in Mesopotamia, and before the end of the year had driven them a hundred



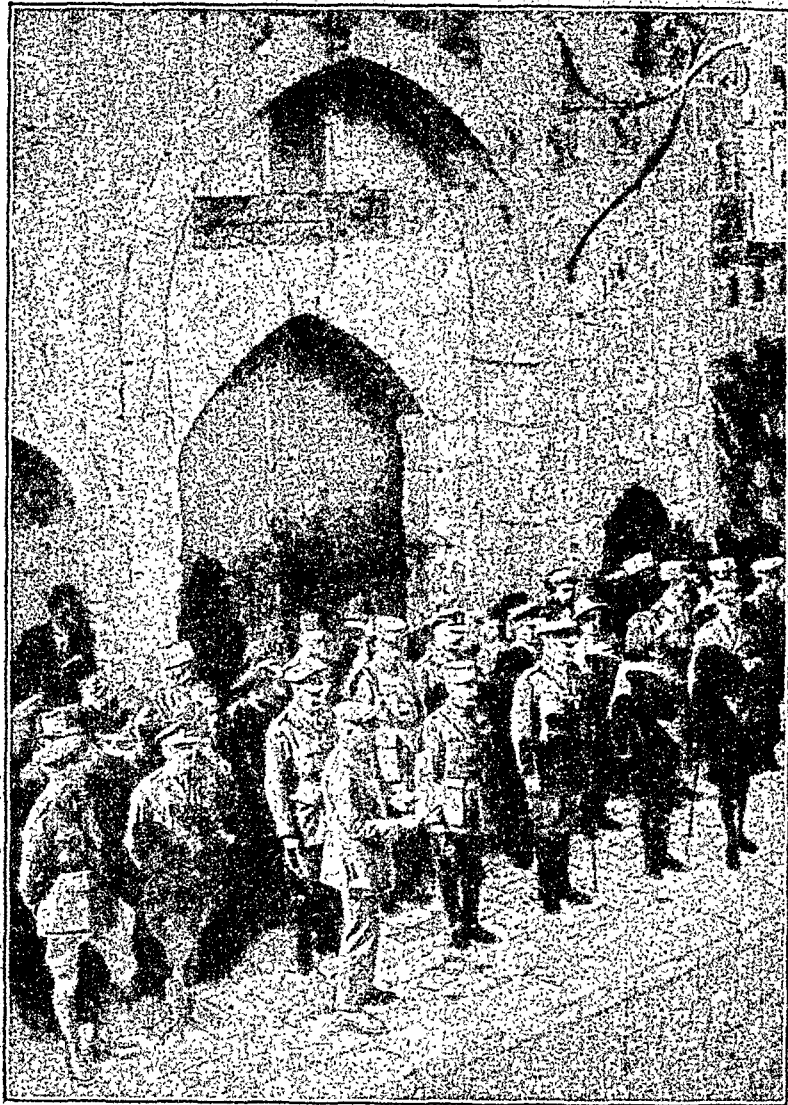
(Photo by Topical Press)

Admiral Beatty (born 1871)

Marshal von Hindenburg (born 1847)

A BRITISH NAVAL COMMANDER AND A GERMAN MILITARY
COMMANDER IN THE GREAT WAR

miles north of Bagdad. The British also attacked the Turks in Palestine, and before the end of 1917 British troops entered Jerusalem. The German submarine campaign was beginning to fail. The American armies were rapidly arriving in France. The Germans saw that their only hope was to make a great offensive in the West, and early in 1918 this began. The attack at first was very successful. The British army had to retreat at two places, and the Germans made a great advance into France. But just as things looked blackest the tide began to turn. The Allies decided to put their armies under one Commander-in-Chief. This was Marshal Foch, the greatest leader in the War. Under his command a great Allied offensive began



[Photo by Topical Press.]

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM, 1917.

Reading General Allenby's Proclamation in Arabic to the inhabitants.
Do you recognise Lord Allenby?

in July, 1918 New British troops arrived, and by this time the Americans were pouring into France, at the rate of 30,000 every month. The Germans were attacked all along the line, and they began to fall back.

Other attacks were going on against Bulgaria and Turkey. These were so successful that Bulgaria in September and Turkey in October both asked for an armistice, and they went out of the War. Then the Italians were at last successful against the Austrians, for the Germans had no energy or men to spare to help their allies now. The result was that the Austrians were put to flight, and a revolution broke out in Austria, so that at the beginning of November the Austrians, too, were forced to beg for peace. Now Germany stood alone against the united force of the Allies. Her people were weakened by lack of food owing to our blockade, and they were disheartened by the failure of the German troops. The Germans had not yet been driven back into German territory, but they had retreated many miles through France and Belgium. A revolution broke out in Germany, and on November 9 the Kaiser fled to Holland. The Germans were forced to ask for an armistice, and this began at 11 o'clock on November 11, 1918. So ended the terrible fighting which had lasted for more than four years. Europe was exhausted, and there were few people who were not glad when the War was over. But it was a long time before treaties could be made to settle all the difficulties which the War had caused.

SUMMARY

The German plan of defeating France first and Russia afterwards failed in 1914, and after the Battle of the Marne the two sides settled down to years of trench warfare. In 1915 the Russians were driven

back, but not crushed, and the British failed to reach them through the Dardanelles. With new allies on both sides the War spread, but Germany failed to break through. She was completely blockaded by the British fleet, and she replied with submarine warfare, which brought the United States in against her in 1917, in which year the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia led to peace between Germany and Russia. Turkey was defeated in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and after making a successful advance in the West early in 1918, the Germans were gradually driven back, and the War ended with the Armistice on November 11, 1918.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections study the history of the War respectively from the point of view of the chief countries which fought in it. (The following books may help : *An Outline History of the Great War*, by E. V. Carey and H. S. Scott, and *The World at War*, by M. B. Syngé.) Compare notes.
2. Make a chart showing the most important events in the War.
3. Collect pictures illustrating various aspects of the War, and pool them through section leaders.
4. Give a short address or read an extract on some War episode. (See *Days to Remember*, by J. Buchan and H. Newbolt.)
5. On an outline map of the world shade in the areas affected by the War.

EXERCISES

1. Imagine yourself a British soldier in the trenches, and write a letter home.
2. Ask a grown-up relative to tell you some incident in which he took part during the War.
3. Why did the United States declare war on Germany?
4. Study a map of the world, noting the chief areas in which the War was fought.
5. Write an account of the war in the air or of the war at sea.

- EUROPE AND THE WORLD AFTER -
- THE WAR -

THE MAKING OF PEACE

THE fighting in the Great War stopped in November 1918, but the statesmen of Europe soon found that to make peace was more difficult than to make war. Germany had surrendered, not because she was beaten to her knees, but because she saw that it was useless to go on. But she still had an enormous amount of weapons of war, guns, aeroplanes, submarines and so on. She also still had a large army. The three most important men in the world at the moment of the Armistice were Mr Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, Mr Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and Monsieur Clemenceau, the Premier of France. They were so important that they were known as the 'Big Three'. Of the 'Big Three' the one with the greatest power was President Wilson, because he was the head of the richest country in the world, and the one that was much less weakened and exhausted than the rest. Germany had agreed to lay down her arms on certain conditions that President Wilson had made and the Allies had agreed to. Then the representatives of the Allies met those of their enemies in the great mirrored hall of the palace built by Louis XIV, at Versailles, near Paris, where Bismarck had proclaimed the King of Prussia German Emperor in 1871. How different was the position of Germany now from what it had been in the same place fifty years before!

*[Photo by Topical Press.]*

Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924),
President of the United States
(1913-1921).

George Clemenceau (1841-1929),
War Minister of France
(1917-1920).

THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH LEADERS AT THE PEACE
CONFERENCE.

There now began two great struggles. One was between President Wilson and Monsieur Clemenceau; for President Wilson was thinking most of the future peace of the world, while Monsieur Clemenceau was thinking most of the future safety of France. Monsieur Clemenceau was an old man who had fought in the Franco-German War of 1870-1, and who had now guided France to success in this War. He knew better than any man what France had suffered from the power of Germany. He was determined now to use all his strength in order to make Germany pay for the War, and to weaken her so that France should never suffer from her again. President Wilson's idea was that as a

result of the War all the nations of Europe, the small ones as well as the large ones, should be given the right to govern themselves, and so be made happy and contented. When they were all contented they should all agree to form a great league, the members of which should never make war on one another again. This league should include not only the Allies, but Germany and her allies as well. So it would be a real League of Nations.

This could not be done unless the Allies did their best to punish Germany as little as possible. So President Wilson said that Germany should not be made to pay a heavy fine, but should only be asked to pay for the actual damage she had done. Secondly, he said that no land should be taken from her or her allies as a punishment, but only those pieces of land which were inhabited by little nations formerly ruled by the great Empires of Germany, Austria, Russia and Turkey. These little nations had the right to rule themselves, and the War had made it possible to give them such a right.

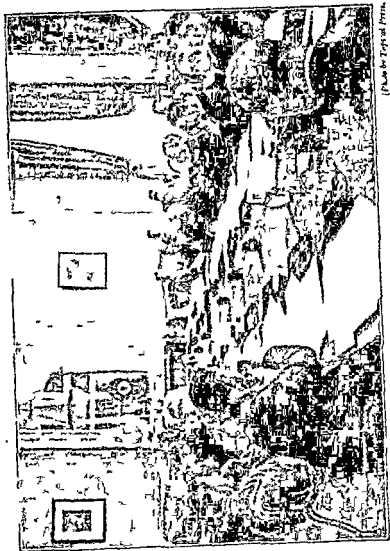
In the end both President Wilson and Monsieur Clemenceau were satisfied as a result of their struggle. The amount of money that Germany and her allies were asked to pay for the damage they had done was so huge that they have not been, and never will be, able to pay it. The idea of giving the little nations the right to govern themselves led to the break up of the great Empires in the centre and east of Europe. So in the end there was very little difference between making Germany and her allies pay a heavy fine and give up land as a punishment, as Monsieur Clemenceau wished, and asking them to pay only for the damage they had done and to give land to the little nations to which it rightly belonged.

The other struggle was the fight that Germany put up

to resist all these demands. In this struggle she lost heavily. She had to allow Allied troops to occupy her country for several years as far east as the River Rhine and at certain points some way beyond. She had to surrender her navy. After she had done this and the German navy was under British care, the German sailors who were left to do the work on the ships deliberately sank them. This was the end of the great fleet that the Kaiser had spent so many years in building up. Germany also had to surrender most of her guns and ammunition, and all the aircraft she had built for war purposes. In fact, she was only allowed to have enough arms for her police to keep order in the country. Also she was not allowed to make aeroplanes except for civil purposes.

REDRAWING THE MAP OF EUROPE

The treaties that were made at Versailles between the Allies and Germany and her allies followed out President Wilson's plan of allowing small nations to choose the government under which they wished to live. This meant that some people who had been living under the rule of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Russia would be joined to the nations to which they rightly belonged. In other cases it meant that some little nations would be able to set up a government of their own and become free and independent states. In this way France got back the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which Germany had taken from her in 1871. Italy gained land in the north and north-west, where most of the people were Italians, although they had been living under Austrian rule. The Slav people living to the south of Austria-Hungary were all joined to Serbia, and the new state was called Jugo-Slavia. This state also included Montenegro. On the eastern side



(Photo by Topsy and Topsy)

SIGNING THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES JUNE 28 1919
Notice the envoys of various nations Do you recognize any of them?

of Austria-Hungary, Transylvania, where most of the people were Rumanians, was joined to Rumania.

Besides these changes in Austria, Hungary again became a separate state. Bohemia, which had been under Austrian rule for many years, also set up a government of its own. The Bohemians were Slavs, of the same race as the Russians and the Serbs. The Bohemian people of this race were called Czechs. Some other land, inhabited by people called Slovaks, was added to theirs, and the new state was called Czecho-Slovakia. The result of these losses was that Austria was left a tiny state, cut off on all sides, with only seven million inhabitants, who were really Germans.

Another nation of Slavs which regained its freedom as a result of the Great War was Poland. Many years before, Poland had been a great state, but it had been broken up several times and divided between Germany, Austria and Russia. Now Poland was reunited and given back its independence. All the three great Empires which had stolen pieces of Poland now suffered. Russia lost most in quantity. But the country that actually suffered most was Germany, because Poland cut right across Germany and divided the western and eastern parts of Prussia into two. On the western side of Russia also a number of new states, such as Finland, were set up, so that Russia was very much smaller than she had been. Finally Turkey was almost driven out of Europe, and a part of Bulgaria was given to Greece. Later on the Turks fought the Greeks and beat them, so that they made themselves strong again in Constantinople and the European country around it.

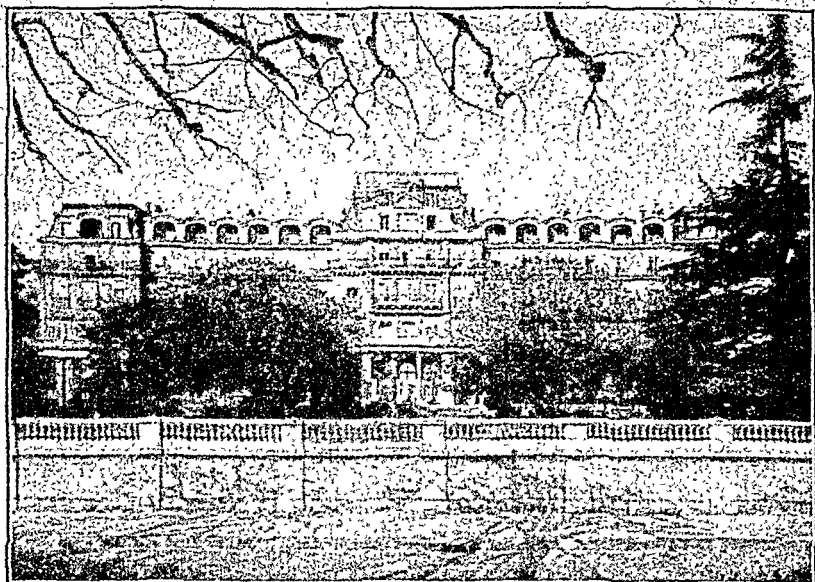
If you compare a map of Europe, as it was just before the Great War, with the map after the treaties were made

you will see what tremendous changes the War brought about. But it was not only in Europe that Germany and her allies lost land. Germany had to give up her colonies, especially those in Africa. Turkey lost large pieces of the eastern part of her Empire, which were set up as new states with their own government, or put under the control of other powers. Among these new states were Mesopotamia or Irak, Palestine, Syria and parts of Arabia.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

All the defeated countries suffered revolutions at the end of the War, and these revolutions entirely changed the kind of government. Germany and Austria became republics with an elected president, instead of an emperor by blood. The Sultan of Turkey was overthrown and an elected president took his place. In Russia, as you have already read, the government of the Czar was replaced by that of the Bolsheviks. All the new states became republics, though some of the enlarged ones, such as Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, kept their kings. These changes in the kind of government were among the most remarkable results of the War. For years the peoples of Europe had been struggling for greater rights against their monarchs. The War gave them the hope of getting these. So democracy, or the rule of the people, the growth of which we have been tracing in this book, made a great step forward through the War, for new parliaments were established and new methods of voting by the people were introduced.

The Peace Treaties created these new states. Arrangements had to be made at the same time to keep them at peace with one another. For this purpose every nation signing a treaty of peace had also to agree to the establishment of the League of Nations. This set up a kind of



[Photo by League of Nations.]

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT GENEVA

Find this city on the map.

Parliament of all nations which was to meet at Geneva in Switzerland. This was very different from the arrangement made in 1815, at the end of the Napoleonic War. Then, you will remember, the leading statesmen of two or three great states of Europe met from time to time. Under the arrangements made after 1918, any nation, however small and unimportant, could join the League, provided that it agreed to the rules. By the rules every nation had to do all it could to prevent war. Whenever a dispute arose between nations, instead of going to war they must try and settle it by putting it before the League to judge the rights and wrongs of the case. To the Parliament (or Assembly) of the League all the nations belonging to it send members. Besides this Assembly there is a Council

with fewer members, a great Court of Law and a body of men and women always at work collecting information about the work of the League. This body is called the Secretariat.

In 1921 forty-eight nations were members of the League. At first Germany, Austria and other enemies of the Allies in the War were not allowed to join. Since then they have joined, and in 1929 the total number of nations belonging to the League was fifty-five. The only great states in the world which do not belong are the United States and Russia. There is plenty of work for the League of Nations to do besides keeping peace among the nations, for it has taken over the control of many matters arising from the War. For example, it collects information from all parts of the world about conditions of health and labour, and it has tried to help poor states, such as Austria, to recover from the effects of the War. Also it has taken charge of certain areas, called mandated areas, which it has handed over to various states to govern. Among these areas is Palestine, which Britain rules on behalf of the League of Nations.

PROBLEMS LEFT BY THE WAR

Since the War the nations of the world have been trying to recover from it. When the War ended many people in Central Europe were starving. Germany and the other states fighting by her side had lost their trade with the outside world during the War. Many of Germany's industries depended upon this trade for their prosperity. Her industrial life could not be brought back unless she could trade again with the rest of the world. Most of the nations of the world were suffering in the same way.

They had given themselves up to trying to win the War. But now all the work they had been doing was not wanted. Instead of making munitions of war they wanted now to make things for peace-time. But it was not easy to start trade once more. Besides, millions of men were returning from the armies, and work had to be found for them. Countries like France and Belgium suffered specially, because many of their towns had been destroyed and much of the land on which their agricultural life depended had been laid waste. Germany had not suffered in this way at all, and it was this that made the French and Belgians so bitter against Germany.

Many of these difficulties have not disappeared as the years have gone by. In almost every country there are still hundreds of thousands of unemployed, and living is very hard. Most countries are in debt, and their people have to pay heavy taxes. Some nations have tried new ways of governing in an effort to put things right. This is particularly true of Italy, where Signor Mussolini has become head of the Government. But no nation can get things right by thinking of itself alone. The whole world suffered in the War. The whole world has been suffering ever since. Only if all the nations work together can they hope to gain happiness and prosperity once more.

SUMMARY

After the Armistice representatives of the nations which had fought in the War met to make peace at Versailles. A large part of Germany was occupied by Allied troops. Germany had to surrender her navy, aircraft, guns and munitions, and to pay a vast sum for the damage done. Germany and her allies, as well as Russia, had to give up much territory inhabited by people who did not wish to remain under their rule. Some of these were joined to older states;

and others formed new and independent states. So a new map of Europe was made, and the League of Nations was established, with its headquarters at Geneva. The War left many difficulties which still go on.

GROUP WORK

- 1 Class in sections study the ways in which the War affected France, Germany, Austria, Turkey and Italy respectively. (See M. O. Davis's *Outlines of European History* and D. K. Gordon's *Junior History of Europe*.) Compare notes.
- 2 Make a community map of Europe, showing the effect of the War.
- 3 Prepare notes for a short lecture to the class on some aspect of the League of Nations. (*Peep at the League of Nations*, by H. Spaul, and *The League of Nations School Book*, by R. Jones and S. S. Sherman, will help you.)

EXERCISES

- 1 Find out more about one of the leaders at the end of the War (e.g. Foch, Clemenceau, Wilson).
- 2 Say what you know of the results of the War in Russia and Italy.
- 3 Compare the map of Europe after the War with that of Europe in 1914. (Use an atlas and the maps at the beginning of this book.)
- 4 Study the maps at the beginning of the book in connection with this chapter and then write a composition suggested by the picture on p. 273.

BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE - - - AFTER THE WAR - - -

BRITAIN'S GAINS AND LOSSES

BRITAIN had entered the War to prevent Germany from destroying the independence of Belgium and from gaining control of the whole line of coast to the south of the North Sea and the English Channel. If a great military and naval power in Europe, such as Germany was, had gained this control, Britain would have lost her command of the sea. If she had lost command of the sea, she could not have kept up her defence of the British Empire, which is scattered across all the oceans of the world. Britain certainly succeeded in gaining her objects in the War. Belgium was made safe, and gained some territory from Germany. Germany was in this way prevented from controlling the long line of coast facing the south of Britain. Besides this, Germany lost the naval power that she had been building up before and during the War. Also she lost all her colonies. So Britain ended as she had begun, with her navy supreme and her Empire untouched.

But in order to do all this Great Britain had paid a great price, and had had to change her ways very much. She had to do many things which she had not done in earlier wars. For, besides keeping her navy at full strength, she built up a huge army such as she had never had before. To go on building up this great army she had to give up, in the middle of the War, the method of raising troops by depending on volunteers, and forced

every able-bodied man to join His Majesty's Forces. Taking the British Empire as a whole, over eight million men joined and served in the armies from beginning to end. Besides the millions of men serving in the fighting forces, there were more millions of both men and women engaged in the making of munitions of war. Also there were thousands of women who gave their services as nurses and helpers of the soldiers, and hundreds of thousands who took over men's tasks, such as the work of postmen, milk men and bus and tram drivers and conductors. The War was terribly costly for Britain. During the War nearly a million Britons were killed, and at the end of it the National Debt was ten times as huge as it had been at the beginning.

Suddenly all the war time activity ceased, and you may imagine what tremendous difficulties the War left behind in our country. All those who had been working for the War had to begin ordinary peace time occupations, and the millions of soldiers, sailors and airmen had to return to civil life. The country at that time was guided by the Prime Minister, Mr Lloyd George. His energy and force had greatly helped the British nation through its terror to its triumph, and he played a great part in making the Peace Treaties at the end of the War. He was a member of the Liberal Party, but his Ministers had been drawn from every party, and he wished this kind of government, which we call a coalition, to go on after the War.

Towards the end of the War in 1918 a new Act was passed giving the right to vote to many people who had not had it before. This Act carried forward the work of the earlier Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884-5 of which you have read in earlier chapters. The great new thing that the Act of 1918 did was to give women the right to vote for, or to

be elected as, Members of Parliament. There were many fine and wonderful things done in the War. But nothing was finer than the way the women of Britain played their part. So most Members of Parliament at that time forgot about all the horrid things done by the Suffragettes before the War, and voted in favour of giving women the vote. Only certain women were allowed to have it then, but by a later Act, passed in 1928, women were allowed to vote just as men were. So now the position is that all men and women of twenty-one years or more are voters for Parliament.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

As soon as the War was over there was a General Election under the Act of 1918. The result was that Mr. Lloyd George was returned to power for a further period. But Parliament and the Government soon found that the difficulties were almost greater than they could cope with. There was great unrest in industry all over the country, and this led to many strikes. The workers gained higher wages and better conditions of life. But this made prices rise still higher, and then the workers demanded further increased wages. There was work for everybody at first, but soon prices got so high that people would not buy many things that they had bought before. Then trade dropped, and a terrible period of unemployment started. The people grew tired of the Government, and Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition broke up. Another election, in 1923, gave the Conservatives a majority, but this did not last long, for Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, was defeated at another election in 1924, and then for the first time a Labour Government was formed under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. The Labour Party had been growing



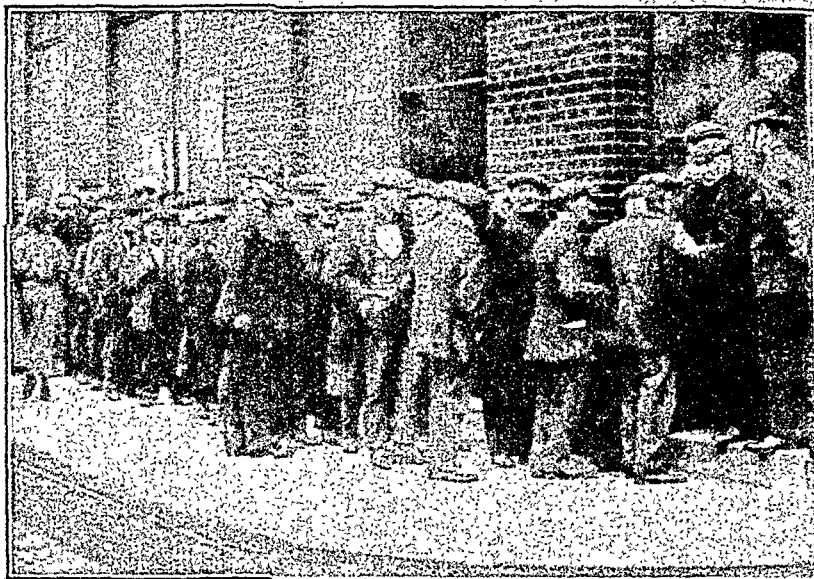
Photo by Robert P. O.

THE GENERAL STRIKE 19

The buses are seen driving away the crowd in an important thoroughfare in London

greatly since the 1906 Election, when Labour members were sent to Parliament for the first time in any numbers. But in 1924 the Labour Government was not strong enough to last in face of the many difficulties at home and abroad.

So, towards the end of 1924, the Conservative Party, under Mr Baldwin, gained a majority again. There was still much distress and unemployment, particularly among the miners. In order to keep the wages of miners up to a proper standard, the Government helped by making a contribution or subsidy for a certain time. When this time came to an end in 1926, and the miners had to face a fall in wages, there was a great strike which lasted for many months. The Government could do nothing to help, and



[Photo by Topical Press.]

THE UNEMPLOYED IN LONDON.

Unemployed men in a queue outside a Labour Exchange.

so other great trade unions, such as the railwaymen and transport workers, decided to strike in support of the miners. This was known as the General Strike. For a whole week industry and trade were at a standstill. There were no trains or buses, except a few driven by volunteers. In London tens of thousands of workers could be seen walking to their work or being helped along by the owners of private motor-cars.

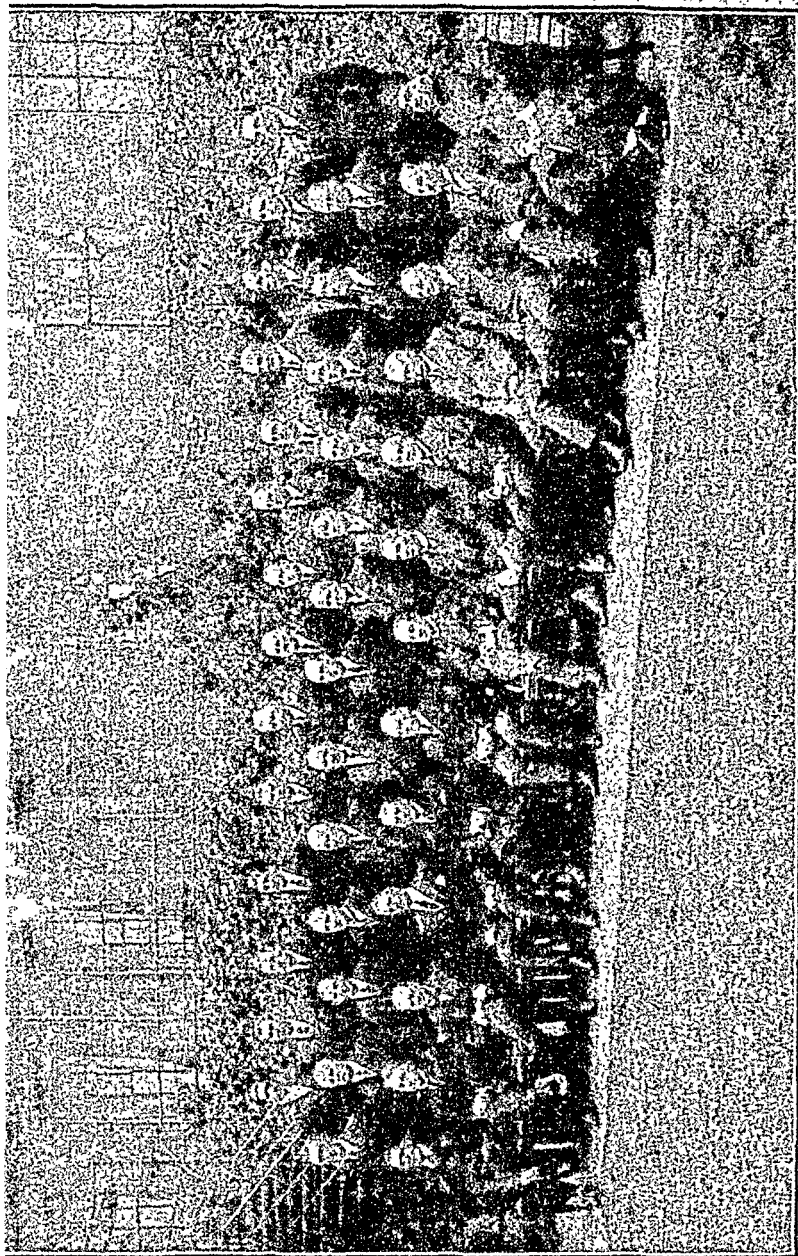
The Government refused to give way, and then the unions decided to return to work. The miners' strike went on until the miners were forced to give way by starvation. The General Strike was followed by an Act passed in 1928, which took away some of the rights that the trade unions had gained in the first years of the twentieth

century, and in the following year the Conservatives were defeated at the General Election. So in 1929 Mr Mac Donald became Prime Minister once more. But the Labour Party had not enough members in Parliament to pass all the laws they wished to pass. Taxation and unemployment rose higher than ever, and by 1931 the country had not recovered its prosperity.

CHANGES IN EMPIRE GOVERNMENT

Important events in the British Empire followed the Great War. Ireland had expected the Home Rule Act to be carried out in 1914. But the coming of the War had stopped it. Many people in the South of Ireland refused to take any part in the War. Some went even so far as to try to get German help in their efforts to gain their freedom. In 1916 there was a rebellion in Dublin, which had to be put down with much bloodshed. From that time the Irish had to be kept down by force. One body of men determined to fight until a republic was established. These men were known as Sinn Féiners. They were offered another Home Rule Bill in 1920, but they would not accept it, and then they began a campaign of attacking police and soldiers in their efforts to frighten the British Government into doing what they wished.

After much bitterness and useless bloodshed some of the leading Irish rebels agreed to make a treaty with the British Government. In 1922 the South of Ireland was given the same rights as Canada, and so it became a Self-Governing Dominion under the British Crown. It was called the Irish Free State, and it had its own Parliament and a Cabinet of ministers belonging to the party with the largest number of members in the Parliament. Ulster refused to join the Irish Free State. It still sends members



[Photo by Gooch.]

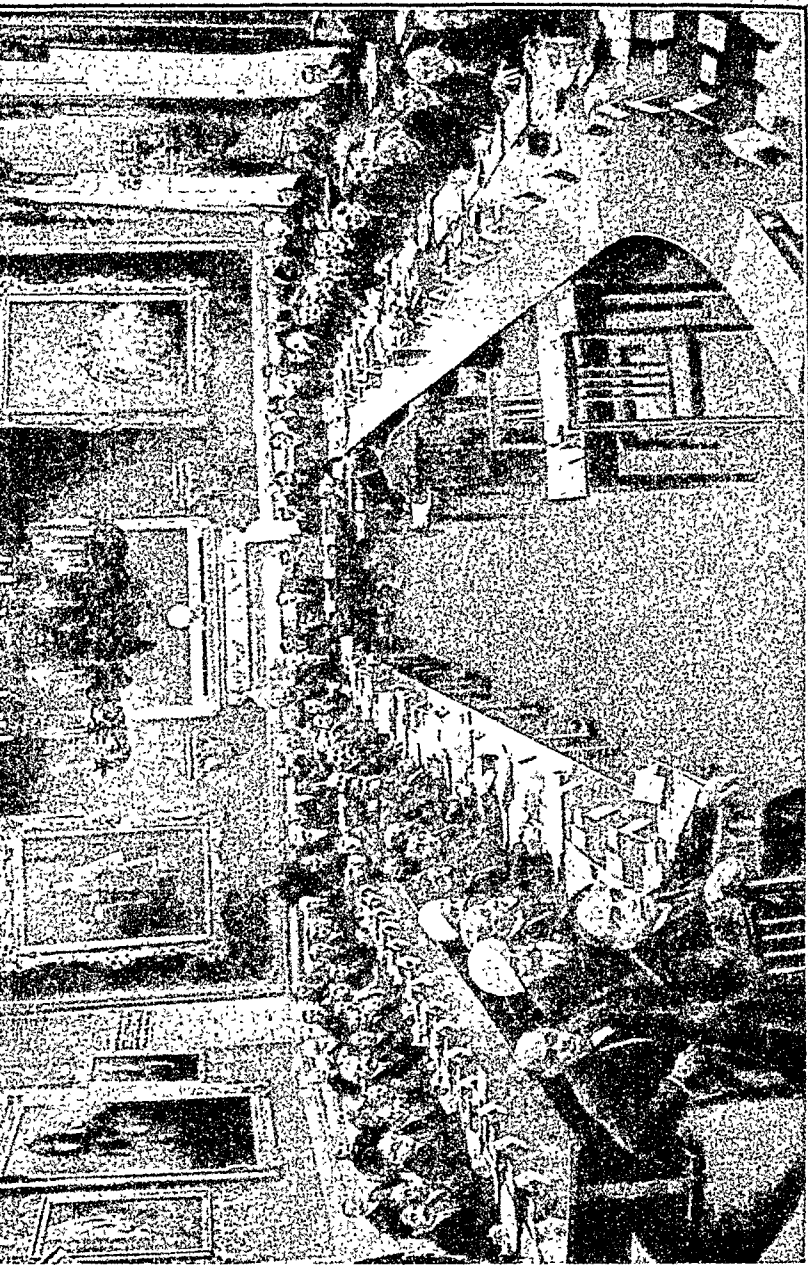
MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON, 1926.

Find out who were the chief British Ministers at that time and see how many of them you recognise in the group.

to the Parliament at Westminster, though it has a Parliament of its own to pass certain kinds of laws. Many people hope that one day Ulster may become part of the Irish Free State, and so make a united Ireland once again.

The other Self-Governing Dominions became more independent after the War. They all joined the League of Nations, and each sends representatives to the meetings of the Assembly at Geneva. In 1926 there was a great Imperial Conference in London of all the Dominion Prime Ministers, and there was another in 1930. All sorts of questions, to do with such things as government and trade, were decided at these meetings. The members of the Dominion Governments met the members of the British Government as equals. The people of Canada, Australia and South Africa are now separate nations, and can do as they wish without fear of interference from the Government in London. But they remain united with Great Britain. Altogether they form a great union or Commonwealth of people under one Crown.

There are other parts of the Empire besides the Self-Governing Dominions. Some of these, such as India, look forward to the day when they will govern themselves in the same way. In 1919 the Indian people were given new rights and a fuller share in the government of their country. Many Indians became dissatisfied with this, and caused much trouble in their efforts to gain fuller rights. The 1919 Act was to last for ten years; so in 1929 an enquiry began to see whether we might safely go any farther in giving the Indians greater freedom. Several Englishmen toured India and drew up a report. In 1930 a big Conference, at which British statesmen discussed the situation with Indian princes and leaders, was opened by the King in London. Perhaps before very long India



[Photo by Ateliers Picture Service.

THE INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER, 1930.

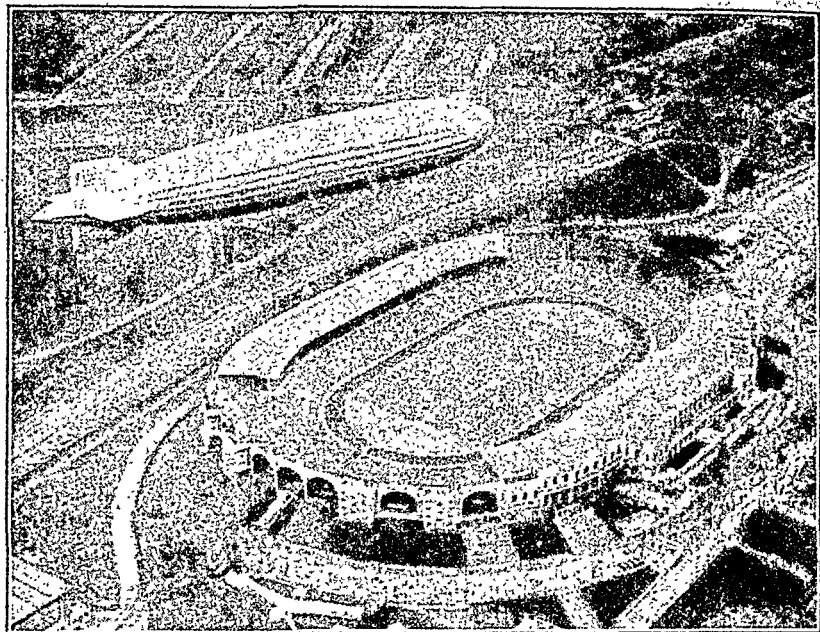
The picture shows the Conference sitting in London under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay

will be carried a stage farther towards becoming a Self-Governing Dominion. But the problem is a very difficult one, because of the vastness of India and its many different people, religions, customs and conditions. Other parts of the Empire are known as Crown Colonies, such as Barbados and Jamaica. In some of these also the natives are beginning to take a share in the government.

PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

Britain's world wide concerns have made her take a great interest in the enormous advances in invention and discovery that have taken place since the War. There has been a great improvement in aircraft during the last few years. Several people have crossed the Atlantic Ocean and have been round the world by air. In the sixteenth century it took Francis Drake three years to go round the world in a sailing ship. In the twentieth century Zeppelin went round the globe in three weeks. The question of aviation is one about which Britain must think a great deal because aircraft, as a weapon of war, is now becoming more important than ships, on which up to now we have always depended for the defence of our coasts. Much progress has also been made in speed on the land, especially by means of the motor-car. In this advance Britain has played a big part, and in 1931 a British motorist made a record in the United States by travelling at a speed of 255 miles an hour in a car of British manufacture.

The invention of wireless telegraphy by the Italian, Marconi, has been a great blessing to humanity. By means of it, news travels all over the world at an enormous speed, ships can communicate with each other, and aeroplanes going on long and dangerous voyages can keep in touch with the rest of the world. Wireless has brought the various



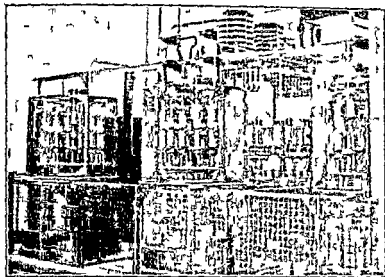
[Photo by Gooch.]

THE GERMAN AIRSHIP, "GRAF ZEPPELIN," FLYING OVER THE WEMBLEY STADIUM, NEAR LONDON, DURING THE ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL CUP FINAL MATCH IN 1930.

This airship went round the world in three weeks, but since that, in 1931, two American airmen have performed this feat in an aeroplane in nine days.

parts of the world and the Empire very close together. By the aid of wireless we can, for example, listen to a concert in Vienna, or hold a conversation with someone in New York.

Our knowledge of the world has also been greatly helped during the last few years by Arctic exploration. Several important journeys to the North Pole and South Pole have been undertaken by daring explorers. In this work Englishmen, like Captain Scott and Sir Ernest Shackleton, have played a very important part. This kind of exploration helps the advance of science. Also it is itself helped by the progress of invention, as shown by the fact that men have



Photoby G. L. F. F. F.

A WIRELESS STATION

the main transmitting plant at the wireless station at Rugby in England

Already tried to reach the Poles by aeroplane, by airship, and even by submarine

These great inventions of the twentieth century will play a greater and greater part in the education of the people. The more we are able to travel speedily from one part of the world to another, the more we shall learn about the world outside our own country. The broadcasting of knowledge will help us the better to understand the things around us. The more the nations of the world know about one another, the more they are likely to be peaceful and friendly. This is the great lesson of history, and this is why we must study, as we have studied in this book, the history of other lands as well as our own.

Our study of the Days of Democracy began with the

outbreak of the French Revolution. The French Revolutionaries demanded the "Rights of Man" for everyone. The citizens of Britain and the British Commonwealth have more rights in the twentieth century than Frenchmen asked for in the eighteenth, and a study of this period of a century and a half shows what great changes have come about in this way. But our rights are of no use to us unless we learn how to use them properly. Democracy means that with every right there is a duty to all our fellow citizens, not only in our own country but in every other country of the world. So the Days of Democracy go on, and will, let us hope, continue for the rest of time. *Just*

SUMMARY

The people of Britain had great difficulty in returning to the ordinary work of the days of peace after their many trials during the War. A new Act (1918) gave women the vote, and this was carried farther in 1928. In 1924 the first Labour Government was formed, and a second one in 1929. Labour troubles led to the General Strike in 1926, and unemployment became worse. The Irish Free State was established in 1922. The Self-Governing Dominions gained new powers, especially after the Imperial Conference of 1926. In 1930 a great Conference concerning the government of India was held. Since the War Britain has played a great part in those inventions (motoring, aircraft, wireless, etc.) which will help on the work of democracy.

GROUP WORK

1. Class in sections find out more about the situation after the War in England, Ireland, the Self-Governing Dominions and India respectively. Compare notes.
2. Class in sections study the history of voting, government, labour troubles and Imperial affairs in Britain since the War. (G. Whiskard's *How we are Governed* and H. and L. Court's *The Story of British Trade and Commerce* will help you.) Compare notes.

3 Collect pictures and cuttings dealing with important events in Britain and the Empire during the years since the War. Pool the collections.

41 Class in sections prepare notes on progress and inventions during the twentieth century—e.g. motoring, aircraft, wireless. (Many books, such as Cressy's *Discoveries and Inventions of the Twentieth Century*, W. J. Claxton's *Masters of the Air* and A. Williams' *Romance of Modern Invention*, will help you.)

5 Make a chart from the above, showing the achievements of the twentieth century in various departments.

EXERCISES

1 Study a map of the world, noting the position of British Self-Governing Dominions, Dependencies and Crown Colonies.

2 Give a short account of (a) the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, or (b) the General Strike of 1926, or (c) the Indian Conference of 1930.

3 Explain briefly what is meant by democracy, and show how it works in Britain.

4 Write a short composition on Britain's part in the development of any great invention of the twentieth century.

5 Study the map at the end of the book, and then write a composition suggested by pictures on pp. 286 and 288.

TIME CHART, A.D. 1900—A.D. 1930

ON THIS CHART 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES REPRESENT 10 YEARS

Date.	Events Overseas.	Date.	Events in British Isles.
1900-	Boxer Rising in China. Commonwealth of Australia established. End of South African War. Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Russo-Japanese War. Triple Entente (to balance Triple Alliance of 1882). Revolution in Turkey.	1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1908 1909	Accession of Edward VII. A. J. Balfour Prime Minister. New Education Act. J. Chamberlain's "Fair Trade" campaign begins. H. Campbell-Bannerman Prime Minister. Liberal victory at General Election. Trade Union Act. Establishment of Territorials. H. H. Asquith Prime Minister. Old Age Pensions. Poor Law Report. Lloyd George's Budget rejected by Lords.
1910-	Union of South Africa formed. First Balkan War. Second Balkan War. Outbreak of Great War. Retreat from Mons. Battle of the Marne. Italy joins Allies. Dardanelles. Russian campaign. Defence of Verdun. Battle of Jutland. Rumania joins Allies. U.S.A. declares war. Bolshevik Revolution. Russia makes peace. Palestine and Mesopotamia campaigns. The Armistice with Germany and her allies. Treaty of Versailles.	1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919	General Elections. Death of Edward VII. Accession of George V. Parliament Act. National Insurance. Miners' Strike. Workmen's Compensation Act. Irish Home Rule Bill. Trade Union Act. Suffragette Movement in Progress. Disturbance in Ireland. Britain declares War on Germany. Formation of Coalition Government. Conscription Act. Lloyd George Prime Minister. Irish Rebellion. Representation of the People Act. General Election. Government of India Act passed.
1920-	League of Nations established. Difficulties and disturbances following the War in various parts of the world. New powers gained by British Self-Governing Dominions. Enquiry into Indian government.	1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1926 1928 1929	Disturbances in Ireland. Irish Free State established. End of Lloyd George's Government. First Labour Government. General Strike. Imperial Conference. New Trade Union Act. Women given equal voting rights with men. Second Labour Government.
1930-		1930	Indian Conference in London.

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